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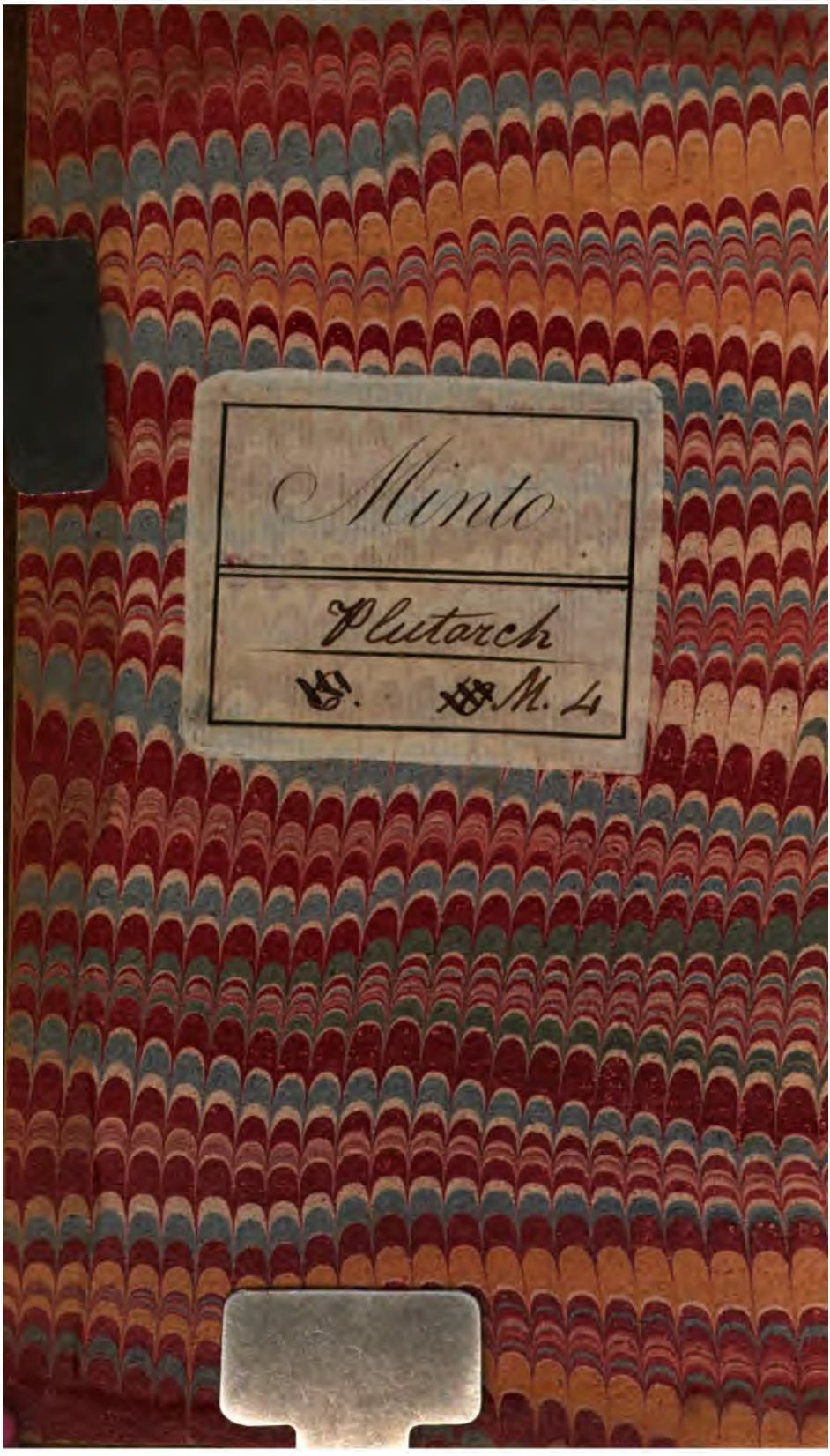
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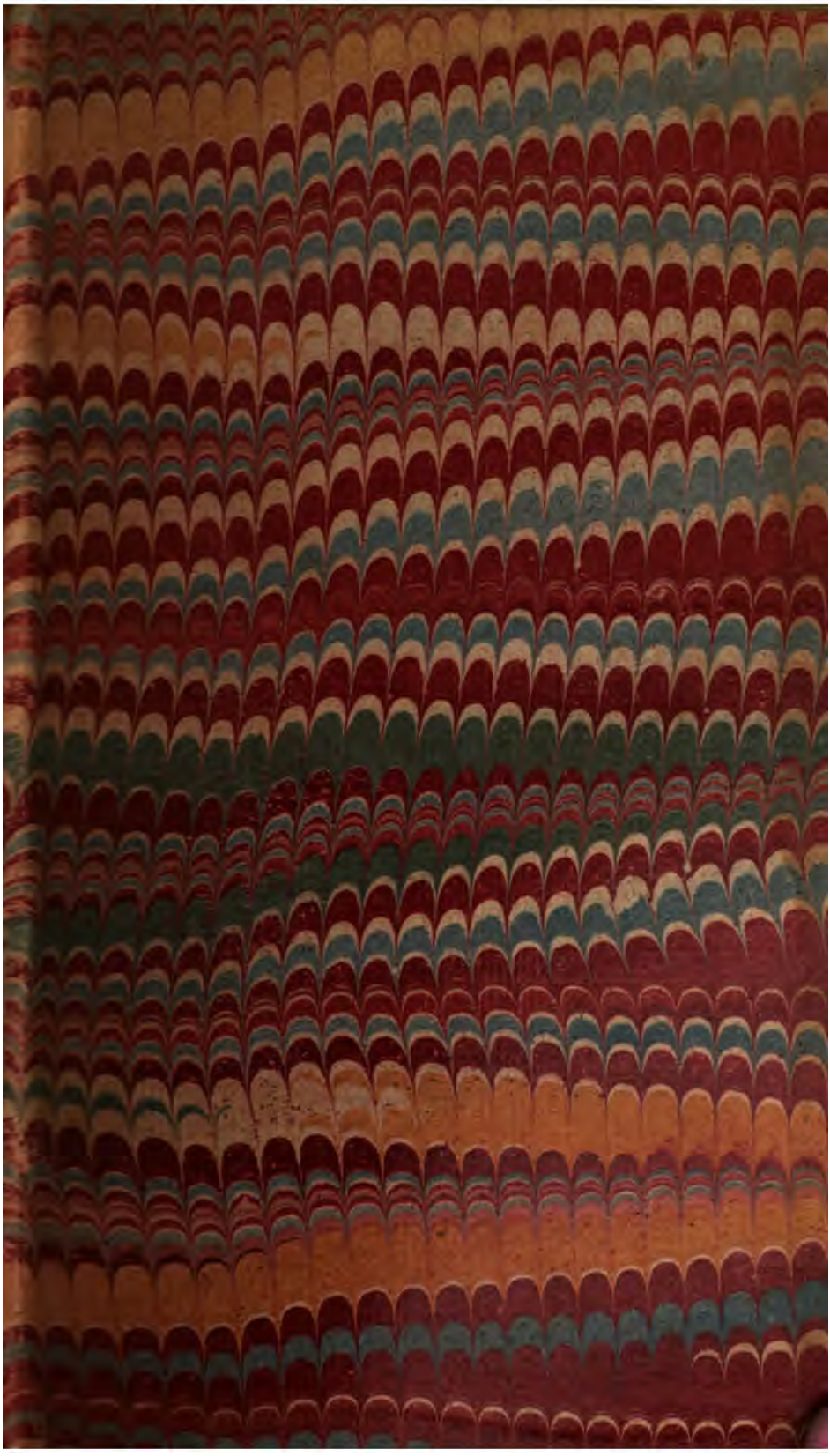

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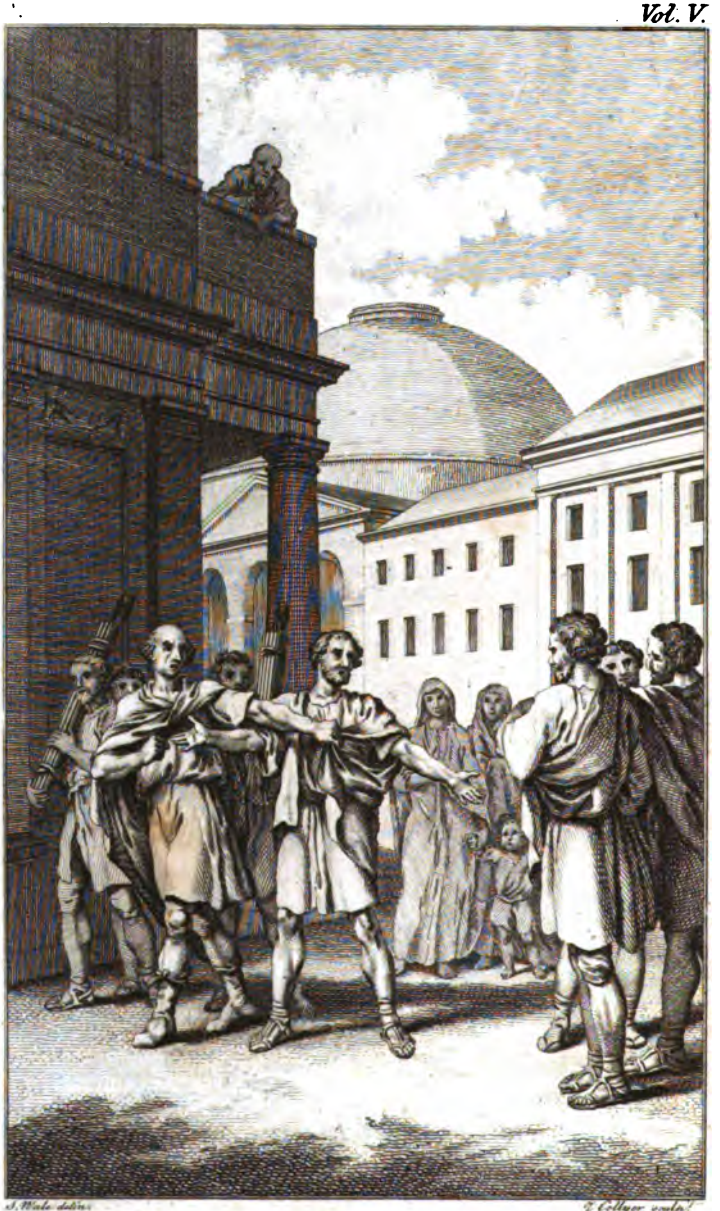
PLUTARCH's

LIVES.

VOL. V.



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PLUTARCH's

LIVES,

TRANSLATED from the ORIGINAL GREEK,

WITH

NOTES CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL,

AND A

NEW LIFE OF PLUTARCH.

By JOHN LANGHORNE, D. D.

AND

WILLIAM LANGHORNE, M. A.

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MDCCLXX.

PLUTARCH's LIVES.

PHOCION.

DEMADES the orator, by ſtudying in his whole adminiſtration to pleaſe the Macedonians and Antipater, had great authority in Athens. When he found himſelf by that complaiſance often obliged to propoſe laws and make ſpeeches injurious to the dignity and virtue of his country, he uſed to ſay, "He was excuſable, be-"cauſe he came to the helm when the common-"wealth was no more than a wreck." This aſſertion, which in him was unwarrantable, was true enough when applied to the adminiſtration of Phocion. Demades was the very man who wrecked his country. He purſued ſuch a vicious plan both in his private and public conduct, that Antipater ſcrupled not to ſay of him when he was grown old, "That "he was like a ſacrificed beaſt, all conſumed ex-

"kept his tongue and his paunch *." But the virtue of Phocion found a ſtrong and powerful adverſary in the times, and its glory was obſcured in the gloomy period of Greece's misfortunes. For Virtue is not ſo weak as Sophocles would make her, nor is the ſentiment juſt which he puts in the mouth of one of the perſons of his drama.

—The firmeſt mind will fail
Beneath misfortune's ſtroke, and, ſtunn'd, depart
From its ſage plan of action †.

All the advantage that Fortune can truly be affirmed to gain in her combats with the good and virtuous is, the bringing upon them unjuſt reproach and cenſure, inſtead of the honour and eſteem which are their due, and by that means leſſening the confidence the world would have in their virtue.

It is imagined, indeed, that when affairs proſper, the people, elated with their ſtrength and ſucceſs, behave with greater inſolence to good miniſters; but it is the very reverſe. Misfortunes always ſour their temper; the leaſt thing will then diſturb them; they take fire at trifles; and they are impatient of the leaſt ſeverity of expreſſion. He who reproves their faults, ſeems to reproach them with their misfortunes, and every bold and free addreſs is conſidered as an inſult. As honey makes a wounded or ulcerated member ſmart, ſo it often happens, that a remonſtrance, though pregnant with truth and ſenſe, hurts and irritates the diſtreſſed, if it is not gentle and mild in the application. Hence Homer often expreſſes ſuch things as are pleaſant, by the word *menoeikes*,

* The tongue and the paunch were not burnt with the reſt of the victim. The paunch uſed to be ſtuffed and ſerved up at table, and the tongue was burnt on the altar at the end of the entertainment in honour of Mercury, and had libations poured upon it. Of this there are many examples in Homer's Odyſſey.

† SOPHOC. *Antig.* l. 569 & 570.

menoeikes, which ſignifies what is *ſymphonious to the mind*, what ſoothes its weakneſs, and bears not hard upon its inclinations. Inflamed eyes love to dwell upon dark-brown colours, and avoid ſuch as are bright and glaring. So it is with a ſtate, in any ſeries of ill-conducted and unproſperous meaſures; ſuch is the feeble and relaxed condition of its nerves that it cannot bear the leaſt alarm; the voice of truth, which brings its faults to its remembrance, gives it inexpreſſible pain, though not only ſalutary, but neceſſary; and it will not be heard, except its harſhneſs is modified. It is a difficult taſk to govern ſuch a people; for, if the man who tells them the truth, falls the firſt ſacrifice, he who flatters them, at laſt periſhes with them.

The mathematicians ſay, the ſun does not move in the ſame direction with the heavens, nor yet in a direction quite oppoſite, but circulating with a gentle and almoſt inſenſible obliquity, gives the whole ſyſtem ſuch a temperature as tends to its preſervation. So in a ſyſtem of government, if a ſtateſman is determined to deſcribe a ſtreight line, and in all things to go againſt the inclinations of the people, ſuch rigour muſt make his adminiſtration odious; and, on the other hand, if he ſuffers himſelf to be carried along with their moſt erroneous motions, the government will ſoon be in a tottering and ruinous ſtate. The latter is the more common error of the two. But the politics which keep a middle courſe, ſometimes ſlackening the reins, and ſometimes keeping a tighter hand, indulging the people in one point to gain another that is more important, are the only meaſures that are formed upon rational principles: for a well-timed condeſcenſion and moderate treatment will bring men to concur in many uſeful ſchemes, which they could not be brought into by deſpotiſm and violence. It muſt be acknowledged, that this medium is difficult to hit upon, becauſe it requires a mixture of dignity with

gentleneſs; but when the juſt temperature is gained, it preſents the happieſt and moſt perfect harmony that can be conceived. It is by this ſublime harmony the ſupreme Being governs the world; for Nature is not dragged into obedience to his commands, and though his influence is irreſiſtible, it is rational and mild.

The effects of auſterity were ſeen in the younger Cato. There was nothing engaging or popular in his behaviour; he never ſtudied to oblige the people, and therefore his weight in the adminiſtration was not great. Cicero ſays, "he acted as if he had "lived in the commonwealth of Plato, not in the "dregs of Romulus, and by that means fell ſhort "of the conſulate *." His caſe appears to me to have been the ſame with that of fruit which comes out of ſeaſon: people look upon it with pleaſure and admiration, but they make no uſe of it. Thus the old-faſhioned virtue of Cato, making its appearance amidſt the luxury and corruption which time had introduced, had all the ſplendor of reputation which ſuch a phænomenon could claim, but it did not anſwer the exigencies of the ſtate; it was diſproportioned to the times, and too ponderous and unwieldy for uſe. Indeed his circumſtances were not altogether like thoſe of Phocion, who came not into the adminiſtration till the ſtate was ſinking †; whereas Cato had only to ſave the ſhip beating about in the ſtorm. At the ſame time we muſt allow that he had not the principal direction of her; he ſate not at the helm; he could do no more than help to hand the ſails and the tackle. Yet he maintained

a

* The paſſage here referred to, is in the firſt epiſtle of Cicero's ſecond book to Atticus. But we find nothing there of the repulſe Cato met with in his application for the conſulſhip. That repulſe, indeed, did not happen till eight years after the date of that epiſtle.

† Our author means, that uncommon and extraordinary efforts were more neceſſary to ſave the poor remains of a wreck, than to keep a ſhip, yet whole and entire, from ſinking.

a noble conflict with Fortune, who having determined to ruin the commonwealth, effected it by a variety of hands, but with great difficulty, by ſlow ſteps and gradual advances. So near was Rome being ſaved by Cato and Cato's virtue! With it we would compare that of Phocion: not in a general manner, ſo as to ſay, they were both perſons of integrity, and able ſtateſmen; for there is a difference between valour and valour, for inſtance, between that of Alcibiades and that of Epaminondas; the prudence of Themiſtocles and that of Ariſtides were not the ſame; juſtice was of one kind in Numa, and in Ageſilaus of another: but the virtues of Phocion and Cato were the ſame in the moſt minute particulars; their impreſſion, form and colour, are perfectly ſimilar. Thus their ſeverity of manners was equally tempered with humanity, and their valour with caution; they had the ſame ſollicitude for others, and diſregard for themſelves; the ſame abhorrence of every thing baſe and diſhonourable, and the ſame firm attachment to juſtice on all occaſions: ſo that it requires a very delicate expreſſion, like the finely diſcriminated ſounds of the organ, to mark the difference* in their characters.

* Ωσε λεπτε παυ λογε δειδαι, καθαπερ οργανε προς διακρισιν και ανευρεσιν των διαφερονταν.

The organ here mentioned was probably that invented by Cteſibius, who, according to Athenæus, placed in the temple of Zephyrus, at Alexandria, a tube, which, collecting air by the appulſive motion of water, emitted muſical ſounds, either by their ſtrength adapted to war, or by their lightneſs to feſtivity. Hedylus, in his elegies, mentions this organ under the title of Κερας.

Ζωροτοται χ' τυτο φιλον ζεφυρε μετα γνον,
Θρεπτον μεν Ϛασιλευς εισεθεσεν το κερας.
Σαλπιζον λυγιας τε κρουε προς ρυσιν ηχης
Δειτε χ' πολεμε συνθεμα χ' θαλιης.

Thus we ſee this inſtrument was capable of great variety and diſcrimination of harmony. Claudian has left us the following deſcription of this water-organ:

Et

It is univerſally agreed, that Cato was of an illuſtrious pedigree, which we ſhall give ſome account of in his life; and we conjecture, that Phocion's was not mean or obſcure: for had he been the ſon of a turner, it would certainly have been mentioned by Glaucippus, the ſon of Hyperides, among a thouſand other things, in the treatiſe which he wrote on purpoſe to diſparage him. Nor, if his birth had been ſo low, would he have had ſo good an education, or ſuch a liberal mind and manners. It is certain, that, when very young, he was in tuition with Plato, and afterwards with Xenocrates in the academy; and from the very firſt he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his ſtrong application to the moſt valuable ſtudies. Duris tells us, the Athenians never ſaw him either laugh or cry, or make uſe of a public bath, or put his hand from under his cloak when he was dreſſed to appear in public. If he made an excurſion into the country, or marched out to war, he went always bare-footed, and without his upper garment too, except it happened to be intolerably cold: and then the ſoldiers uſed to laugh, and ſay, "It is a ſign of a ſharp winter; Phocion has got his cloaths on."

He was one of the moſt humane and beſt-tempered men in the world, and yet he had ſo ill-natured and forbidding a look, that ſtrangers were afraid to addreſs him without company. Therefore when Chares the orator obſerved to the Athenians, what terrible brows Phocion had, and they could not help making themſelves merry, he ſaid, "This brow of "mine never gave one of you an hour of ſorrow; "but the laughter of theſe ſneerers has coſt their "country

Et qui magna levi detrudens murmura tactu,
Innumeras voces ſegetis moderatur ahenæ.
Intonat erranti digito, penituſque trabali
Vecte laborantes in carmina concitat undas.

Cornelius Severus ſays, *Ejus fuit generis qui aquarum aſſultu auram conciperet.* But its *innumeræ voces*, as Claudian calls them, its variety of expreſſion is undoubtedly the reaſon why Plutarch mentions it here.

"country many a tear." In like manner, though the meaſures he propoſed were happy ones, and his counſels of the moſt ſalutary kind, yet he uſed no flowers of rhetoric; his ſpeeches were conciſe, commanding, and ſevere. For, as Zeno ſays, that a philoſopher ſhould never let a word come out of his mouth that is not ſtrongly tinctured with ſenſe; ſo Phocion's oratory contained the moſt ſenſe in the feweſt words. And it ſeems that Polyeuctus the Sphettian had this in view, when he ſaid, "Demoſ-"thenes was the better orator, and Phocion the "more perſuaſive ſpeaker." His ſpeeches were to be eſtimated like coins, not for their ſize, but for the intrinſic value. Agreeably to which, we are told, that one day when the theatre was full of people, Phocion was obſerved behind the ſcenes wrapt up in thought, when one of his friends took occaſion to ſay, "What! at your meditations! Phocion?" "Yes," ſaid he, "I am conſidering whether I can-"not ſhorten what I have to ſay to the Athenians." And Demoſthenes, who deſpiſed the other orators, when Phocion got up, uſed to ſay, ſoftly to his friends, "Here comes the pruner of my periods." But perhaps this is to be aſcribed to the excellence of his character, ſince a word or a nod from a perſon revered for his virtue, is of more weight than the moſt elaborate ſpeeches of other men.

In his youth he ſerved under Chabrias, then commander of the Athenian armies; and, as he paid him all proper attention, he gained much military knowledge by him. In ſome degree too he helped to correct the temper of Chabrias, which was impetuous and uneven. For that general, though at other times ſcarce any thing could move him, in time of action was violent, and expoſed his perſon with a boldneſs ungoverned by diſcretion. At laſt it coſt him his life, when he made it a point to get in before the other gallies to the Iſle of Chios, and attempted to make good his landing by dint of ſword,

Phocion, whoſe prudence was equal to his courage, animated him when he was too ſlow in his operations, and endeavoured to bring him to act coolly when he was unſeaſonably violent. This gained him the affection of Chabrias, who was a man of candour and probity; and he aſſigned him commiſſions and enterprizes of great importance, which raiſed him to the notice of the Greeks. Particularly in the ſea-fight off Naxos, Phocion being appointed to head the ſquadron on the left, where the action was hotteſt, had a fine opportunity to diſtinguiſh himſelf, and he made ſuch uſe of it, that victory ſoon declared for the Athenians: and as this was the firſt victory they had gained at ſea, in a diſpute with Greeks, ſince the taking of their city, they expreſſed the higheſt regard for Chabrias, and began to conſider Phocion as a perſon in whom they ſhould one day find an able commander. This battle was won during the celebration of the great myſteries, and Chabrias, in commemoration of it, annually treated the Athenians with wine on the ſixteenth day of September.

Some time after this, Chabrias ſent Phocion to the iſlands, to demand their contributions, and offered him a guard of twenty ſail. But Phocion ſaid, "If you ſend me againſt enemies, ſuch a fleet is too "ſmall; if to friends, one ſhip is ſufficient." He therefore went in his own galley, and by addreſſing himſelf to the cities and magiſtrates in an open and humane manner, he ſucceeded ſo well, as to return with a number of ſhips which the allies fitted out, and at the ſame time put their reſpective quota's of money on board.

Phocion not only honoured and paid his court to Chabrias as long as he lived, but, after his death, continued his attentions to all that belonged to him. With his ſon Cteſippus he took peculiar pains, to form him to virtue; and though he found him very ſtupid and untractable, yet he ſtill laboured to correct

rect his errors, as well as to conceal them. Once, indeed, his patience failed him. In one of his expeditions the young man was ſo troubleſome with unſeaſonable queſtions, and attempts to give advice, as if he knew how to direct the operations better than the general, that at laſt he cried out, "O Chabrias, "Chabrias! what a return do I make thee for thy "favours, in bearing with the impertinences of thy "ſon."

He obſerved, that thoſe who took upon them the management of public affairs, made two departments of them, the civil and the military, which they ſhared as it were by lot. Purſuant to this diviſion, Eubulus, Ariſtophon, Demoſthenes, Lycurgus, and Hyperides, addreſſed the people from the roſtrum, and propoſed new edicts; while Diopithes, Meneſtheus, Leoſthenes, and Chares, raiſed themſelves by the honours and employments of the camp. But Phocion choſe rather to move in the walk of Pericles, Ariſtides, and Solon, who excelled not only as orators, but as generals; for he thought their plan more complete; each of thoſe great men (to uſe the words of Archilochus) appearing juſtly to claim

The palms of Mars, and laurels of the muſe:

and he knew that the tutelar goddeſs of Athens was equally the patroneſs of arts and arms.

Formed upon theſe models, peace and tranquility were the great objects he had always in view; yet he was engaged in more wars than any perſon, either of his own, or of the preceding times. Not that he courted, or even applied for the command; but he did not decline it, when called to that honour by his country. It is certain, he was elected general no leſs than five-and-forty times, without once attending the election; being always appointed in his abſence, at the free motion of his countrymen. Men of ſhallow underſtanding were ſurpriſed that the

the people ſhould ſet ſuch a value on Phocion, who generally oppoſed their inclinations, and never ſaid or did any thing with a view to recommend himſelf. For, as princes divert themſelves at their meals with buffoons and jeſters, ſo the Athenians attended to the polite and agreeable addreſs of their orators by way of entertainment only; but when the queſtion was concerning ſo important a buſineſs as the command of their forces, they returned to ſober and ſerious thinking, and ſelected the wiſeſt citizen and the man of the ſevereſt manners, who had combated their capricious humours and deſires the moſt. This he ſcrupled not to avow; for one day, when an oracle from Delphi was read in the aſſembly, importing "that the reſt of the Athenians were unanimous in their opinions, and that there was only one man who diſſented from them," Phocion ſtepped up and told them "they need not give themſelves any trouble in enquiring for this refractory citizen, for he was the man who liked not any thing they did." And another time in a public debate, when his opinion happened to be received with univerſal applauſe, he turned to his friends, and ſaid, "Have I inadvertently let ſome bad thing ſlip from me?"

The Athenians were one day making a collection, to defray the charge of a public ſacrifice, and numbers gave liberally. Phocion was importuned to contribute among the reſt: but he bade them apply to the rich: "I ſhould be aſhamed," ſaid he, "to give you any thing, and not to pay this man what I owe him;" pointing to the uſurer Callicles. And as they continued very clamorous and teazing, he told them this tale.—"A cowardly fellow once reſolved to make a campaign; but when he was ſet out, the ravens began to croak, and he laid down his arms and ſtopped. When the firſt alarm was a little over, he marched again. The ravens renewed their croaking, and then he made a full ſtop,

" ſtop, and ſaid, You may croak your hearts out if " you pleaſe, but you ſhall not taſte my carcaſe."

The Athenians once inſiſted on his leading them againſt the enemy, and when he refuſed, they told him, nothing could be more daſtardly and ſpiritleſs than his behaviour. He anſwered, " You can nei- " ther make me valiant, nor can I make you cow- " ards: however, we know one another very " well."

Public affairs happening to be in a danger- ous ſituation, the people were greatly exaſperated againſt him, and demanded an immediate account of his conduct. Upon which, he only ſaid, " My " good friends, firſt get out of your difficulties."

During a war, however, they were generally humble and ſubmiſſive, and it was not till after peace was made, that they began to talk in a vaunt- ing manner, and to find fault with their general. As they were one time telling Phocion, he had rob- bed them of the victory which was in their hands, he ſaid, " It is happy for you, that you have a ge- " neral who knows you; otherwiſe you would have " been ruined long ago."

Having a difference with the Bœotians, which they refuſed to ſettle by treaty, and propoſed to de- cide by the ſword, Phocion ſaid, " Good people, " keep to the method in which you have the ad- " vantage; and that is talking, not fighting."

One day, determined not to follow his advice, they refuſed to give him the hearing. But he ſaid, " Though you can make me act againſt my judg- " ment, you ſhall never make me ſpeak ſo."

Demoſthenes, one of the orators of the adverſe party, happening to ſay, " The Athenians will cer- " tainly kill thee, Phocion, ſome time or other;" he anſwered, " They may kill *me*, if they are mad, " but it will be you, if they are in their ſenſes."

When Polyeuctus, the Sphettian, adviſed the Athenians to make war upon Philip, the weather being

being hot, and the orator a corpulent man, he ran himſelf out of breath, and perſpired ſo violently, that he was forced to take ſeveral draughts of cold water, before he could finiſh his ſpeech. Phocion, ſeeing him in ſuch a condition, thus addreſſed the aſſembly—"You have great reaſon to "paſs an edict for the war upon this man's recom- "mendation. For what are you not to expect from "him, when loaded with a ſuit of armour, he march- "es againſt the enemy, if in delivering to you "(peaceable folks) a ſpeech which he had compoſed "at his leiſure, he is ready to be ſuffocated."

Lycurgus the orator, one day ſaid many diſparaging things of him in the general aſſembly, and, among the reſt, obſerved, that when Alexander demanded ten of * their orators, Phocion gave it as his opinion, that they ſhould be delivered to him. "It is true," ſaid Phocion, "I have given the peo- "ple of Athens much good counſel, but they do "not follow it."

There was then in Athens one Archibiades, who got the name of Laconiſtes, by letting his beard grow long, in the Lacedaemonian manner, wearing a thread-bare cloak, and keeping a very grave countenance. Phocion finding one of his aſſertions much contradicted in the aſſembly, called upon this man to ſupport the truth and rectitude of what he had ſaid. Archibiades, however, ranged himſelf on the people's ſide, and adviſed what he thought agreeable to them. Then Phocion, taking him by the beard, ſaid, "What is all this heap of hair for? Cut it, "cut it off."

Ariſtogiton, a public informer, paraded with his pretended valour before the people, and preſſed them

* For πολιτων we ſhould here read πολιτικων, as, a little above, we ſhould read πολιτικων inſtead of πολιτων. That they were orators, which Alexander demanded, appears from Demoſthenes. p. 439, 2.

them much to declare war. But when the lists came to be made out, of those that were to serve, this swaggerer had got his leg bound up, and a crutch under his arm. Phocion, as he sate upon the business, seeing him at some distance in this form, called out to his secretary, "to put down Aristogiton a crip-"ple and a coward."

All these sayings have something so severe in them, that it seems strange that a man of such austere and unpopular manners, should ever get the surname of the *Good*. It is, indeed, difficult, but, I believe, not impossible, for the same man to be both rough and gentle, as some wines are both sweet and sour: and, on the other hand, some men who have a great appearance of gentleness in their temper, are very harsh and vexatious to those who have to do with them. In this case, the saying of Hyperides, to the people of Athens, deserves notice; "Examine not whether I am severe upon you, "but whether I am so for my own sake." As if it were avarice only that makes a minister odious to the people, and the abuse of power to the purposes of pride, envy, anger, or revenge, did not make a man equally obnoxious.

As to Phocion, he never exerted himself against any man in his private capacity, or considered him as an enemy; but he was inflexibly severe against every man who opposed his motions and designs for the public good. His behaviour in other respects was liberal, benevolent, and humane; the unfortunate he was always ready to assist, and he pleaded even for his enemy, if he happened to be in danger. His friends, one day, finding fault with him for appearing in behalf of a man whose conduct did not deserve it, he said, "The good have no need of "an advocate." Aristogiton, the informer, being condemned, and committed to prison, begged the favour of Phocion to go and speak to him, and he hearkened to his application. His friends dissuaded him

him from it, but he ſaid, "Let me alone, good "people. Where can one rather wiſh to ſpeak to "Ariſtogiton than in a priſon?"

When the Athenians ſent out their fleets under any other commander, the maritime towns and iſlands in alliance with that people, looked upon every ſuch commander as an enemy; they ſtrengthened their walls, ſhut up their harbours, and conveyed the cattle, the ſlaves, the women, and children, out of the country into the cities. But when Phocion had the command, the ſame people went out to meet him in their own ſhips, with chaplets on their heads and every expreſſion of joy, and in that manner conducted him into their cities.

Philip endeavoured privately to get footing in Euboea, and for that purpoſe ſent in forces from Macedon, as well as practiſed upon the towns by means of the petty princes. Hereupon, Plutarch of Eretria called in the Athenians, and intreated them to reſcue the iſland out of the hands of the Macedonians: in conſequence of which, they ſent Phocion at firſt with a ſmall body of troops, expecting that the Euboeans would immediately riſe and join him. But when he came, he found nothing among them but treaſonable deſigns and diſaffection to their own country, for they were corrupted by Philip's money. For this reaſon he ſeized an eminence * ſeparated from the plains of Tamynae by a deep defile, and in that poſt he ſecured the beſt of his troops. As for the diſorderly, the talkative and cowardly part of the ſoldiers, if they attempted to deſert and ſteal out of the camp, he ordered the officers to let them go. "For," ſaid he, "if "they ſtay here, ſuch is their want of diſcipline, "that, inſtead of being ſerviceable, they will be "prejudicial

* Inſtead of ἀποκεκυπτομενον here in the text, we ſhould read ἀποκεκομμενον. So ſays Du Soul: but we think ἀποκυπτομενον, *ſloping* or *ſloped*, which is nearer the text, is more likely to be the true reading.

"prejudicial in time of action; and, as they will be "conſcious to themſelves of flying from their co- "lours, we ſhall not have ſo much noiſe and ca- "lumny from them in Athens."

Upon the approach of the enemy, he ordered his men to ſtand to their arms, but not attempt any thing, till he had made an end of his ſacrifice: and, whether it was that he wanted to gain time, or could not eaſily find the auſpicious tokens, or was deſirous of drawing the enemy nearer to him, he was long about it. Mean while Plutarch, imagining that this delay was owing to his fear and irreſolution, charged at the head of the mercenaries; and the cavalry ſeeing him in motion, could wait no longer, but advanced againſt the enemy, though in a ſcattered and diſorderly manner, as they happened to iſſue out of the camp. The firſt line being ſoon broken, all the reſt diſperſed, and Plutarch himſelf fled. A detachment from the enemy then attacked the entrenchments, and endeavoured to make a breach in them, ſuppoſing that the fate of the day was decided. But at that inſtant Phocion had finiſhed his ſacrifice, and the Athenians ſallying out of the camp, fell upon the aſſailants, routed them, and cut moſt of them in pieces in the trenches. Phocion then gave the main body directions to keep their ground, in order to receive and cover ſuch as were diſperſed in the firſt attack, while he, with a ſelect party, went and charged the enemy. A ſharp conflict enſued, both ſides behaving with great ſpirit and intrepidity. Among the Athenians, Thallus, the ſon of Cineos, and Glaucus, the ſon of Polymedes, who fought near the general's perſon, diſtinguiſhed themſelves the moſt. Cleophanes, too, did great ſervice in the action; for he rallied the cavalry, and brought them up again, by calling after them, and inſiſting that they ſhould come to the aſſiſtance of their general, who was in danger. They returned, therefore, to the charge,

and by the aſſiſtance which they gave the infantry, ſecured the victory.

Phocion, after the battle, drove Plutarch out of Eretria, and made himſelf maſter of Zaretra, a fort, advantageouſly ſituated, where the iſland draws to a point, and the neck of land is defended on each ſide by the ſea. He did not chuſe, in purſuance of his victory, to take the Greeks priſoners, leſt the Athenians, influenced by their orators, ſhould, in the firſt motions of reſentment, paſs ſome unequitable ſentence upon them.

After this great ſucceſs, he ſailed back to Athens. The allies ſoon found the want of his goodneſs and juſtice, and the Athenians ſaw his capacity and courage in a clear light. For Moloſſus, who ſucceeded him, conducted the war ſo ill, as to fall himſelf into the enemy's hands. Philip, now riſing in his deſigns and hopes, marched to the Helleſpont with all his forces, in order to ſeize at once on the Cherſoneſus, Perinthus, and Byzantium.

The Athenians determining to ſend ſuccours to that quarter, the orators prevailed upon them to give that commiſſion to Chares. Accordingly he ſailed to thoſe parts, but did nothing worthy of ſuch a force as he was entruſted with. The cities would not receive his fleet into their harbours; but, ſuſpected by all, he beat about, raiſing contributions where he could upon the allies, and, at the ſame time, was deſpiſed by the enemy. The orators, now taking the other ſide, exaſperated the people to ſuch a degree, that they repented of having ſent any ſuccours to the Byzantians. Then Phocion roſe up, and told them, "They ſhould not be angry at the ſuſ-
"picions of the allies, but at their own generals,
"who deſerved not to have any confidence placed
"in them. For on their account," ſaid he, "you
"are looked upon with an eye of jealouſy, by the
"very people who cannot be ſaved without your
"aſſiſtance."

"assistance." This argument had such an effect on them, that they changed their minds again, and bade Phocion go himself with another armament to the succour of the allies upon the Hellespont.

This contributed more than any thing to the saving of Byzantium. Phocion's reputation was already great: besides, Cleon, a man of eminence in Byzantium, who had formerly been well acquainted with him at the academy, pledged his honour to the city in his behalf. The Byzantians would then no longer let him encamp without, but opening their gates, received him into their city, and mixed familiarly with the Athenians; who, charmed with this confidence, were not only easy with respect to provisions, and regular in their behaviour, but exerted themselves with great spirit in every action. By these means Philip was forced to retire from the Hellespont, and he suffered not a little in his military reputation; for 'till then he had been deemed invincible. Phocion took some of his ships, and recovered several cities which he had garrisoned; and making descents in various parts of his territories, he harrassed and ravaged the flat country. But at last, happening to be wounded by a party that made head against him, he weighed anchor, and returned home.

Some time after this, the Megarensians applied to him privately for assistance; and as he was afraid the matter would get air, and the Boeotians would prevent him, he assembled the people early in the morning, and gave them an account of the application. They had no sooner given their sanction to the proposal, than he ordered the trumpets to sound, as a signal for them to arm; after which, he marched immediately to Megara, where he was received with great joy. The first thing he did, was to fortify Nisaea, and to build two good walls between the city and the port; by which means the town had a safe communication with the sea, and having now little

to fear from the enemy on the land-ſide, was ſecured in the Athenian intereſt.

The Athenians being now clearly in a ſtate of hoſtility with Philip, the conduct of the war was committed to other generals, in the abſence of Phocion. But, on his return from the Iſlands, he repreſented to the people, that, as Philip was peaceably diſpoſed, and apprehenſive of the iſſue of the war, it was beſt to accept the conditions he had offered. And when one of thoſe public Barreters, who ſpend their whole time in the court of Heliaca, and make it their buſineſs to form impeachments, oppoſed him, and ſaid, "Dare young Phocion, pretend to diſſuade the "Athenians from war, now the ſword is drawn?" "Yes," ſaid he, "I dare; though I know thou "wouldſt be in my power in time of war, and I "ſhall be in thine in time of peace." Demoſthenes, however, carried it againſt him for war, which he adviſed the Athenians to make at the greateſt diſtance they could from Attica. This gave Phocion occaſion to ſay, "My good friend, conſider not ſo much "where we ſhall fight, as how we ſhall conquer. "For victory is the only thing that can keep the "war at a diſtance: if we are beaten, every danger "will ſoon be at our gates."

The Athenians did loſe the day; after which, the moſt factious and troubleſome part of the citizens drew Charidemus to the huſtings, and inſiſted that he ſhould have the command. This alarmed the real well-wiſhers to their country ſo much, that they called in the members of the Areopagus to their aſſiſtance; and it was not without many tears, and the moſt earneſt intreaties, that they prevailed upon the aſſembly to put their concerns in the hands of Phocion.

He was of opinion, that the other propoſals of Philip ſhould be readily accepted, becauſe they ſeemed to be dictated by humanity; but when Demades moved that Athens ſhould be comprehended in

in the general peace, and, as one of the ſtates of Greece, ſhould have the ſame terms with the other cities, Phocion ſaid, "It ought not to be agreed to, "till it was known what conditions Philip required." The times were againſt him, however, and he was over-ruled. And when he ſaw the Athenians repented afterwards, becauſe they found themſelves obliged to furniſh Philip both with ſhips of war, and cavalry, he ſaid, "This was the thing I feared; "and my oppoſition was founded upon it. But "ſince you have ſigned the treaty, you muſt bear "it's inconvenienices without murmuring or deſ- "pondence; remembering that your anceſtors "ſometimes gave law to their neighbours, and "ſometimes were forced to ſubmit, but did both "with honour; and by that means ſaved them- "ſelves and all Greece."

When the news of Philip's death was brought to Athens, he would not ſuffer any ſacrifices or rejoicings to be made on that account. "Nothing," ſaid he, "could ſhew greater meanneſs of ſpirit, "than expreſſions of joy on the death of an enemy. "What great reaſon, indeed, is there for it, when "the army you fought with at Cheronaea, is leſſen- "ed only by one man."

Demoſthenes gave into invectives againſt Alexander, when he was marching againſt Thebes; the ill policy of which Phocion eaſily perceived, and ſaid,

"What boots the godlike giant to provoke,
"Whoſe arm may ſink us at a ſingle-ſtroke*?"
[POPE, Odyſſ. 9.]

"When you ſee ſuch a dreadful fire near you, "would you plunge Athens into it.? For my part,

* Theſe words are addreſſed to Ulyſſes by his companions, to reſtrain him from provoking the giant, Polyphemus, after they were eſcaped out of his cave, and got on board their ſhip.

" I will not ſuffer you to ruin yourſelves, though " your inclinations lie that way; and to prevent " every ſtep of that kind, is the end I propoſed in " taking the command."

When Alexander had deſtroyed Thebes, he ſent to the Athenians, and demanded that they ſhould deliver up to him Demoſthenes, Lycurgus, Hyperides, and Charidemus. The whole aſſembly caſt their eyes upon Phocion, and called upon him often by name. At laſt he roſe up; and placing by him one of his friends, who had the greateſt ſhare in his confidence and affection, he expreſſed himſelf as follows: " The perſons whom Alexander demands, " have brought the commonwealth into ſuch miſe- " rable circumſtances, that if he demanded even " my friend Nicocles, I ſhould vote for delivering " him up. For my own part, I ſhould think it the " greateſt happineſs to die for you all. At the ſame " time, I am not without compaſſion for the poor " Thebans who have taken refuge here; but it is " enough for Greece to weep for Thebes, without " weeping for Athens too. The beſt meaſure, then, " we can take is, to intercede with the conqueror " for both, and by no means to think of fight- " ing."

The firſt decree drawn up in conſequence of theſe deliberations, Alexander is ſaid to have rejected, and to have turned his back upon the deputies: but the ſecond he received, becauſe it was brought by Phocion, who, as his old counſellors informed him, ſtood high in the eſteem of his father Philip. He, therefore, not only gave him a favourable audience, and granted his requeſt, but even liſtened to his counſel. Phocion adviſed him, " If tranquillity was " his object, to put an end to his wars; if glory, " to leave the Greeks in quiet, and turn his arms " againſt the Barbarians." In the courſe of their conference he made many obſervations ſo agreeable to Alexander's diſpoſition and ſentiments, that his reſentment

reſentment againſt the Athenians was perfectly appeaſed, and he was pleaſed to ſay, "The people of "Athens muſt be very attentive to the affairs of "Greece; for, if any thing happens to me, the "ſupreme direction will devolve upon them." With Phocion in particular, he entered into obligations of friendſhip and hoſpitality, and did him greater honours than moſt of his own courtiers were indulged with. Nay, Duris tells us, that after that prince was riſen to ſuperior greatneſs, by the conqueſt of Darius, and had left out the word *chairein*, the common form of ſalutation, in his addreſs to others, he ſtill retained it in writing to Phocion, and to nobody beſides, except Antipater. Chares aſſerts the ſame.

As to his munificence to Phocion, all agree that he ſent him a hundred talents. When the money was brought to Athens, Phocion aſked the perſons employed in that commiſſion, "Why among all the "citizens of Athens, he ſhould be ſingled out as the "object of ſuch bounty?" "Becauſe," ſaid they, "Alexander looks upon you as the only honeſt and "good man." "Then," ſaid Phocion, "let him "permit me always to retain that character, as well "as really to be that man." The envoys then went home with him, and when they ſaw the frugality that reigned there, his wife baking bread, himſelf drawing water, and afterwards waſhing his own feet, they urged him the more to receive the preſent. They told him, "It gave them real uneaſineſs, "and was, indeed, an intolerable thing, that the "friend of ſo great a prince ſhould live in ſuch a "wretched manner." At that inſtant, a poor old man happening to paſs by, in a mean garment, Phocion aſked the envoys, "Whether they thought "worſe of him, than of that man?" As they begged of him not to make ſuch a compariſon, he rejoined, "Yet that man lives upon leſs than I do, and "is contented. In one word, it will be to no pur-

" poſe for me to have ſo much money, if I do not " uſe it; and if I was to live up to it, I ſhould " bring both myſelf and the king, your maſter, " under the cenſure of the Athenians." Thus the money was carried back from Athens, and the whole tranſaction was a good leſſon to the Greeks, *that the man who did not want ſuch a ſum of money, was richer than he who could beſtow it.*

Diſpleaſed at the refuſal of his preſent, Alexander wrote to Phocion, " that he could not number thoſe " among his friends, who would not receive his fa- " vours." Yet Phocion even then would not take the money. However, he deſired the king to ſet at liberty Echecratides the ſophiſt, and Athenodorus the Imbrian, as alſo Demaratus and Sparto, two Rhodians, who were taken up for certain crimes, and kept in cuſtody at Sardis. Alexander granted his requeſt immediately; and afterwards, when he ſent Craterus into Macedonia, ordered him to give Phocion his choice of one of theſe four cities in Aſia, Cios, Gergithus, Mylaſſa, or Elaea. At the ſame time he was to aſſure him, that the king would be much more diſobliged, if he refuſed this ſecond offer. But Phocion was not to be prevailed upon, and Alexander died ſoon after.

Phocion's houſe is ſhewn to this day in the borough of Melita, adorned with ſome plates of copper, but otherwiſe plain and homely.

Of his firſt wife we have no account, except that ſhe was ſiſter to Cephiſodotus the ſtatuary. The other was a matron, no leſs celebrated among the Athenians for her modeſty, prudence, and ſimplicity of manners, than Phocion himſelf was for his probity. It happened one day, when ſome new tragedians were to act before a full audience, one of the players, who was to perſonate a queen, demanded a ſuitable maſk (and attire), together with a large train of attendants, richly dreſt; and, as all theſe things were not granted him, he was out of humour,

and

and refuſed to make his appearance; by which means the whole buſineſs of the theatre was at a ſtand. But Melanthius, who was at the charge of the exhibition, puſhed him, and ſaid, "Thou ſeeſt the wife "of Phocion appear in public with one maid ſervant only, and doſt thou come here to ſhew thy "pride, and to ſpoil our women?" As Melanthius ſpoke loud enough to be heard, the audience received what he ſaid with a thunder of applauſe. When this ſecond wife of Phocion entertained in her houſe an Ionian lady, one of her friends, the lady ſhewed her her bracelets and necklaces, which had all the magnificence that gold and jewels could give them. Upon which, the good matron ſaid, "Phocion is my ornament, who is now called the twen"tieth time to the command of the Athenian armies."

The ſon of Phocion was ambitious of trying his ſkill in the games of the *panathenaea**, and his father permitted him to make the trial, on condition that it was in the foot races: not that he ſet any value upon the victory, but he did it that the preparations and previous exerciſe might be of ſervice to him; for the young man was of a diſorderly turn, and addicted to drinking. Phocus (that was his name) gained the victory, and a number of his acquaintance deſired to celebrate it by entertainments at their houſes; but that favour was granted only to one. When Phocion came to the houſe, he ſaw every thing prepared in the moſt extravagant manner, and, among the reſt, that wine mingled with ſpices was provided for waſhing the feet of the gueſts. He therefore called his ſon to him, and ſaid, "Pho"cus, why do you ſuffer your friend thus to ſully "the honour of your † victory?"

In order to correct in his ſon entirely that inclination to luxury, he carried him to Lacedaemon, and

* See the life of Theſeus.

† The victory was obtained by means of abſtemiouſneſs and laborious exerciſe, to which ſuch indulgences were quite contrary.

put him among the young men who were brought up in all the rigour of the ancient diſcipline. This gave the Athenians no little offence, becauſe it ſhewed in what contempt he held the manners and cuſtoms of his own country. Demades, one day, ſaid to him, "Why do not we, Phocion, perſuade "the people to adopt the Spartan form of govern- "ment? If you chuſe it, I will propoſe a decree "for it, and ſupport it in the beſt manner I am "able." "Yes indeed," ſaid Phocion, "it would "become you much, with all thoſe perfumes about "you, and that pride of dreſs, to launch out in "praiſe of Lycurgus and the Lacedaemonian fru- "gality."

Alexander wrote to the Athenians for a ſupply of ſhips, and the orators oppoſing it, the ſenate aſked Phocion his opinion. "I am of opinion," ſaid he, "that you ſhould either have the ſharpeſt ſword, or "keep upon good terms with thoſe who have."

Pytheas the orator, when he firſt began to ſpeak in public, had a torrent of words and the moſt con- ſummate aſſurance. Upon which, Phocion ſaid, "Is it for thee to prate ſo, who art but a novice a- "mongſt us?"

When Harpalus had traitorouſly carried off Alex- ander's treaſures from Babylon, and came with them from Aſia to Attica, a number of the mercenary orators flocked to him, in hopes of ſharing in the ſpoil. He gave theſe ſome ſmall taſte of his wealth, but to Phocion he ſent no leſs than ſeven hundred talents; aſſuring him at the ſame time, that he might command his whole fortune, if he would take him into his protection. But his meſſengers found a diſagreeable reception: Phocion told them, that "Harpalus ſhould repent it, if he continued thus to "corrupt the city." And the traitor, dejected at his diſappointment, ſtopped his hand. A few days after, a general aſſembly being held on this af- fair, he found that the men who had taken his money,

money, in order to exculpate themſelves, accuſed him to the people; while Phocion, who would accept of nothing, was inclined to ſerve him, as far as might be conſiſtent with the public good. Harpalus, therefore, paid his court to him again, and took every method to ſhake his integrity, but he found the fortreſs on all ſides impregnable. Afterwards he applied to Caricles, Phocion's ſon-in-law, and his ſucceſs with him gave juſt cauſe of offence; for all the world ſaw how intimate he was with him, and that all his buſineſs went through his hands. Upon the death of his miſtreſs Pythonice, who had brought him a daughter, he even employed Charicles to get a ſuperb monument built for her, and for that purpoſe furniſhed him with vaſt ſums. This commiſſion, diſhonourable enough in itſelf, became more ſo by the manner in which he acquitted himſelf of it. For the monument is ſtill to be ſeen at Hermos, on the road between Athens and Eleuſis; and there appears nothing in it anſwerable to the charge of thirty talents, which was the account that Charicles brought in *. After the death of Harpalus, Charicles and Phocion took his daughter under their guardianſhip, and educated her with great care. At laſt, Charicles was called to account by the public for the money he had received of Harpalus; and he deſired Phocion to ſupport him with his intereſt, and to appear with him in the court. But Phocion anſwered, "I made you "my ſon-in-law only for juſt and honourable pur-"poſes."

The firſt perſon that brought the news of Alexander's death, was Aſclepiades the ſon of Hipparchus. Demades deſired the people to give no credit to it; "For," ſaid he, "if Alexander were dead, the "whole world would ſmell the carcaſe." And Phocion ſeeing the Athenians elated, and inclined to raiſe

* Yet Pauſanias ſays, it was one of the completeſt and moſt curious performances of all the ancient works in Greece. According to him, it ſtood on the other ſide of the river Cephiſus.

raiſe new commotions, endeavoured to keep them quiet. Many of the orators, however, aſcended the roſtrum, and aſſured the people, that the tidings of Aſclepiades were true: "Well then," ſaid Phocion, "If Alexander is dead to-day, he will be ſo "to-morrow and the day following; ſo that we may "deliberate on that event at our leiſure, and take "our meaſures with ſafety."

When Leoſthenes, by his intrigues, had involved Athens in the *Lamian war, and ſaw how much Phocion was diſpleaſed at it, he aſked him in a ſcoffing manner, "What good he had done his country, du-"ring the many years that he was general?" "And "doſt thou think it nothing, then," ſaid Phocion, "for the Athenians to be buried in the ſepulchres "of their anceſtors?" As Leoſthenes continued to harangue the people in the moſt arrogant and pompous manner, Phocion ſaid, "Young man, your ſpeeches "are like cypreſs trees, large and lofty, but without "fruit." Hyperides roſe up and ſaid, "tell us then, "what will be the proper time for the Athenians "to go to war?" Phocion anſwered, "I do not think "it adviſeable, 'till the young men keep within the "bounds of order and propriety, the rich become "liberal in their contributions, and the orators for-"bear robbing the public."

Moſt people admired the forces raiſed by Leoſthenes; and when they aſked Phocion his opinion of them, he ſaid, "† I like them very well for a ſhort "race,

* In the original it is the *Grecian* war: and it might, indeed, be ſo called, becauſe it was carried on by the Grecian confederates againſt the Macedonians. But it was commonly called the *Lamian* war, from Antipater's being defeated, and ſhut up in Lamia. The Boeotians were the only nation which did not join the Grecian league. DIODOR SIC. lib. xviii.

† Or rather, "I think they may run very well from the ſtart-"ing poſt to the extremity of the courſe; but I know not how "they will hold it back again." The Greeks had two ſorts of races; the *ſtadium*, in which they ran only right out to the goal; and the *dolichus*, in which they ran right out, and then back again,

" race, but I dread the conſequence of a long one. " The ſupplies, the ſhips, the ſoldiers, are all very " good; but they are the laſt we can produce." The event juſtified his obſervation. Leoſthenes at firſt gained great reputation by his atchievements; for he defeated the Boeotians in a pitched battle, and drove Antipater into Lamia. On this occaſion the Athenians, borne upon the tide of hope, ſpent their time in mutual entertainments, and in ſacrifices to the Gods. Many of them thought, too, they had a fine opportunity to play upon Phocion, and aſked him, " Whether he ſhould not have wiſhed to have " done ſuch great things?" " Certainly I ſhould," ſaid Phocion; " but ſtill I ſhould adviſe not to have " attempted them." And when letters and meſſengers from the army came one after another, with an account of farther ſucceſs, he ſaid, " When ſhall " we have done conquering?"

Leoſthenes died ſoon after; and the party which was for continuing the war, fearing that if Phocion were elected general, he would be for putting an end to it, inſtructed a man that was little known, to make a motion in the aſſembly, importing, " That, " as an old friend and ſchool-fellow of Phocion, he " deſired the people to ſpare him, and preſerve him " for the moſt preſſing occaſions, becauſe there was " not another man in their dominions to be com- " pared to him." At the ſame time he was to recommend Antiphilus for the command. The Athenians embracing the propoſal, Phocion ſtood up and told them, " he never was that man's ſchool- " fellow, nor had he any acquaintance with him; " but from this moment," ſaid he, turning to him, " I ſhall number thee among my beſt friends, ſince " thou haſt adviſed what is moſt agreeable to me."

The Athenians were ſtrongly inclined to proſecute the war with the Boeotians, and Phocion at firſt as ſtrongly oppoſed it. His friends repreſented to him, that this violent oppoſition of his would provoke

them to put him to death. "They may do it, if "they pleaſe," ſaid he: "it will be unjuſtly, if I "adviſe them for the beſt; but juſtly, if I ſhould "prevaricate." However, when he ſaw that they were not to be perſuaded, and that they continued to beſiege him with clamour, he ordered a herald to make proclamation, "that all the Athenians, "who were not * more than ſixty years above the "age of puberty, ſhould take five days proviſions, "and follow him immediately from the aſſembly to "the field."

This raiſed a great tumult, and the old men began to exclaim againſt the order, and to walk off. Upon which, Phocion ſaid, "Does this diſturb you, when "I who am fourſcore years old ſhall be at the head "of you?" That ſhort remonſtrance had its effect; it made them quiet and tractable. When Micion marched a conſiderable corps of Macedonians and Mercenaries to Rhamnus, and ravaged the ſea-coaſt and the adjacent country, Phocion advanced againſt him with a body of Athenians. On this occaſion a number of them were very impertinent in pretending to dictate or adviſe him how to proceed. One counſelled him to ſecure ſuch an eminence, another to ſend his cavalry to ſuch a poſt, and a third pointed out a place for a camp. "Heavens!" ſaid Phocion, "how many generals we have, and how "few ſoldiers!"

When he had drawn up his army, one of the infantry advanced before the ranks; but when he ſaw an enemy ſtepping out to meet him, his heart failed him, and he drew back to his poſt. Whereupon Phocion ſaid, "Young man, are not you aſhamed to "deſert your ſtation twice in one day; that in which "I

* Τους αχρι εξηκοντα ετων απ' ηβης has commonly been underſtood to mean *from fourteen to ſixty*; but it appears from the following paſſage, that it ſhould be underſtood as we have rendered it. Ὁ γαρ Αγησιλαος, ὡς ετη τεσσαρακοντα γεγονως απ' ηβης, και στρατιας εχων αφισιν ὑπο των νομων.
Vit. Ageſ. in Ed. Bryan. vol. iii. p. 396.

"I had placed you, and that in which you had "placed yourself?" Then he immediately attacked the enemy, routed them, and killed great numbers, among whom was their general Micion. * The confederate army of Greeks in Theſſaly likewiſe defeated Antipater in a great battle, though Leonatus and the Macedonians from Aſia had joined him. In this action Antiphilus commanded the foot, and Menon the Theſſalian horſe: Leonatus was among the ſlain.

Soon after this, Craterus paſſed over from Aſia with a numerous army, and another battle was fought, in which the Greeks were worſted. The loſs, indeed, was not great; and it was principally owing to the diſobedience of the ſoldiers, who had young officers that did not exert a proper authority. But this, joined to the practices of Antipater upon the cities, made the Greeks deſert the league, and ſhamefully betray the liberty of their country. As Antipater marched immediately towards Athens, Demoſthenes and Hyperides fled out of the city. As for Demades, he had not been able, in any degree, to anſwer the fines that had been laid upon him; for he had been amerced ſeven times for propoſing edicts contrary to law. He had alſo been declared infamous, and incapable of ſpeaking in the aſſembly. But now finding himſelf at full liberty, he moved for an order that ambaſſadors ſhould be ſent to Antipater with full powers to treat of peace. The people, alarmed at their preſent ſituation, called for Phocion, declaring that he was the only man they

* There is a moſt egregious error here in the former Engliſh verſion: The tranſlator makes Phocion fight the Greeks, his own confederates, in Theſſaly. Το δε Ἑλληνικον εν Θεσσαλια στρατευμα, συμμιξαντος Αντιπατρω Λεοννατου, και των εξ Ασιας Μακεδονων, ενικα μαχομενον. This he renders, *Afterwards he defeated the Grecian army that lay in Theſſaly, wherein Leonnatus had joined himſelf with Antipater and the Macedonians that newly came out of Aſia.* Thus *Phocion* is miſtaken for the nominative caſe to ενικα, whereas Ελληνικον στρατευμα is plainly the nominative.

they could truſt. Upon which, he ſaid, "If you "had followed the counſel I gave you, we ſhould "not have had now to deliberate on ſuch an affair." Thus the decree paſſed, and Phocion was diſpatched to Antipater, who then lay with his army in *Cadmea, and was preparing to enter Attica.

His firſt requiſition was, that Antipater would finiſh the treaty before he left the camp in which he then lay. Craterus ſaid, it was an unreaſonable demand; that they ſhould remain there, to be troubleſome to their friends and allies, when they might ſubſiſt at the expence of their enemies. But Antipater took him by the hand, and ſaid, "Let us in-"dulge Phocion ſo far." As to the conditions, he inſiſted that the Athenians ſhould leave them entirely to him, as he had done at Lamia to their general Leoſthenes.

Phocion went and reported this preliminary to the Athenians, which they agreed to out of neceſſity; and then returned to Thebes, with other ambaſſadors, the principal of which was Xenocrates the philoſopher. For the virtue and reputation of the latter were ſo great and illuſtrious, that the Athenians thought there could be nothing in human nature ſo inſolent, ſavage, and ferocious, as not to feel ſome impreſſions of reſpect and reverence at the ſight of him. It happened, however, otherwiſe with Antipater, through his extreme brutality and antipathy to virtue; for he embraced the reſt with great cordiality, but would not even ſpeak to Xenocrates; which gave him occaſion to ſay, "Antipa-"ter does well in being aſhamed before me, and me "only, of his injurious deſigns againſt Athens."

Xenocrates afterwards attempted to ſpeak, but Antipater, in great anger, interrupted him, and would

* Dacier, without any neceſſity, ſuppoſes that Plutarch uſes the word *Cadmea* for Boeotia. In a poetical way it is, indeed, capable of being underſtood ſo; but it is plain from what follows, that Antipater then lay at Thebes, and probably in the cadmea or citadel.

would not ſuffer him to proceed *. To Phocion's diſcourſe, however, he gave attention; and anſwered, that he would grant the Athenians peace, and conſider them as his friends, on the following conditions.—"In the firſt place," ſaid he, "they "muſt deliver up to me Demoſthenes and Hype-"rides. In the next place, they muſt put their "government on the ancient footing, when none "but the rich were advanced to the great offices of "ſtate. A third article is, that they muſt receive "a garriſon into Munychia: And a fourth, that "they muſt pay the expences of the war." All the new deputies, except Xenocrates, thought themſelves happy in theſe conditions. That philoſopher ſaid, "Antipater deals favourably with us, "if he conſiders us as ſlaves; but hardly, if he "looks upon us as freemen." Phocion begged for a remiſſion of the article of the garriſon; and Antipater is ſaid to have anſwered, "Phocion, we will "grant thee every thing, except what would be "the ruin of both us and thee." Others ſay, that Antipater aſked Phocion, "Whether, if he excuſed "the Athenians as to the garriſon, he would under-"take for their obſerving the other articles, and "raiſing no new commotions?" As Phocion heſitated at this queſtion, Callimedon, ſurnamed Carabus, a violent man, and an enemy to popular government, ſtarted up and ſaid, "Antipater, "why do you ſuffer this man to amuſe you? "If

* Yet he had behaved to him with great kindneſs, when he was ſent to ranſom the priſoners. Antipater, on that occaſion, took the firſt opportunity to invite him to ſupper; and Xenocrates anſwered in thoſe verſes of Homer, which Ulyſſes addreſſes to Circe, who preſſed him to partake of the delicacies ſhe had provided.—

Ill ſits it me, whoſe friends are ſunk to beaſts,
To quaff thy bowls, and riot in thy feaſts.
Me wouldſt thou pleaſe? For them thy cares employ;
And them to me reſtore, and me to joy.

Antipater was ſo charmed with the happy application of theſe verſes, that he releaſed all the priſoners.

" If he ſhould give you his word, would you depend " upon it, and not abide by your firſt reſolutions ?"

Thus the Athenians were obliged to receive a Macedonian garriſon, which was commanded by Menyllus, a man of great moderation, and the friend of Phocion. But that precaution appeared to be dictated by a wanton vanity; rather an abuſe of power to the purpoſes of inſolence, than a meaſure neceſſary for the conqueror's affairs *. It was more ſeverely felt by the Athenians, on account of the time the garriſon entered; which was the twentieth of the month September †, when they were celebrating the great myſteries, and the very day that they carried the god Bacchus in proceſſion from the city to Eleuſis. The diſturbances they ſaw in the ceremonies gave many of the people occaſion to reflect on the difference of the divine diſpenſations with reſpect to Athens in the preſent and in ancient times. " Formerly," ſaid they, " myſtic viſions " were ſeen, and voices heard, to the great happi- " neſs of the republic, and the terror and aſtoniſh- " ment of our enemies. But now, during the ſame " ceremonies, the gods look without concern upon " the ſevereſt misfortunes that can happen to Greece, " and ſuffer the holieſt, and what was once the moſt " agreeable, time in the year, to be profaned, and " rendered the date of our greateſt calamities."

A few years before, the Athenians had received an oracle from Dodona, which warned them to ſecure the promontories of Diana ‡ againſt ſtrangers. And about this time, upon waſhing the ſacred fillets with

* Our author in this place ſeems to be out in his politics, though in general a very able and refined politician. For what but a garriſon could have ſupported an oligarchy among a nation ſo much in love with popular government, or have reſtrained them from taking up arms the firſt opportunity?

† Boëdromion.

‡ Suppoſed to be poetically ſo called, becauſe mountainous places and foreſts were ſacred to that goddeſs. At leaſt, we know of no promontories in Attica that went under that name.

with which they bind the myſtic beds, inſtead of the lively purple they uſed to have, they changed to a faint dead colour. What added to the wonder was, that all the linen belonging to private perſons, which was waſhed in the ſame water, retained its former luſtre. And as a prieſt was waſhing a pig in that part of the port called * *Cantharus*, a large fiſh ſeized the hinder parts, and devoured them as far as the belly: by which the gods plainly announced, that they would loſe the lower parts of the city next the ſea, and keep the upper.

The garriſon commanded by Menyllus, did no ſort of injury to the citizens. But the number excluded, by another article of the treaty, on account of their poverty, from a ſhare in the government, was upwards of twelve thouſand. Such of theſe as remained in Athens, appeared to be in a ſtate of miſery and diſgrace; and ſuch as migrated to a city and lands in Thrace, aſſigned them by Antipater, looked upon themſelves as no better than a conquered people tranſported into a foreign country.

The death of Demoſthenes in Calauria, and that of Hyperides at Cleonae, of which we have given an account in another place, made the Athenians remember Alexander and Philip with a regret which ſeemed almoſt inſpired by affection †. The caſe was the ſame with them now, as it was with the countryman afterwards upon the death of Antigonus. Thoſe who killed that prince, and reigned in his ſtead, were ſo oppreſſive and tyrannical, that a Phrygian peaſant, who was digging the ground, being

 aſked

* In the text it is εν καθαρω λιμενι, *in a clean part of the harbour*. But we chuſe to receive the correction which Florent. Chriſtian has given us in his notes upon Ariſtophanes's comedy called *Peace*. There were three havens in the Piraeus, the principal of which was called *Cantharus*. The paſſage in Ariſtophanes is this.—

Εν πειραιω δη πυ'ςι κανθαρυ λιμην.

† The cruel diſpoſition of Antipater, who had inſiſted upon Demoſthenes and Hyperides being given up to his revenge, made the conduct of Philip and Alexander comparatively amiable.

aſked what he was ſeeking, ſaid, with a ſigh, "I "am ſeeking for Antigonus." Many of the Athenians expreſſed equal concern, now, when they remembered the great and generous turn of mind in thoſe kings, and how eaſily their anger was appeaſed: whereas Antipater, who endeavoured to conceal his power under the maſk of a private man, a mean habit, and a plain diet, was infinitely more rigorous to thoſe under his command; and, in fact, an oppreſſor and a tyrant. Yet, at the requeſt of Phocion, he recalled many perſons from exile; and to ſuch as he did not chuſe to reſtore to their own country, granted a commodious ſituation: for, inſtead of being forced to reſide, like other exiles, beyond the Ceraunian mountains, and the promontory of Taenarus, he ſuffered them to remain in Greece, and ſettle in Peloponneſus. Of this number was Agnonides the informer.

In ſome other inſtances he governed with equity. He directed the police of Athens in a juſt and candid manner; raiſing the modeſt and the good to the principal employments; and excluding the uneaſy and the ſeditious from all offices; ſo that having no opportunity to excite troubles, the ſpirit of faction died away; and he taught them by little and little to love the country, and apply themſelves to agriculture. Obſerving one day that Xenocrates paid a tax as a ſtranger, he offered to make him a preſent of his freedom; but he refuſed it, and aſſigned this reaſon—"I will never be a member of that govern-"ment, to prevent the eſtabliſhment of which I "acted in a public character."

Menyllus was pleaſed to offer Phocion a conſiderble ſum of money. But he ſaid, "Neither is Me-"nyllus a greater man than Alexander; nor have "I greater reaſon to receive a preſent now, than I "had then." The governor preſſed him to take it at leaſt for his ſon Phocus; but he anſwered, "If "Phocus becomes ſober, his father's eſtate will be

" ſufficient for him; and if he continues diſſolute, " nothing will be ſo." He gave Antipater a more ſevere anſwer, when he wanted him to do ſomething inconſiſtent with his probity. " Antipater," ſaid he, " cannot have me both for a friend and a flat- " terer." And Antipater himſelf uſed to ſay, " I " have two friends in Athens, Phocion and De- " mades; it is impoſſible either to perſuade the one " to take any thing, or to ſatisfy the other." Indeed, Phocion, had his poverty to ſhew as a proof of his virtue; for, though he ſo often commanded the Athenian armies, and was honoured with the friendſhip of ſo many kings, he grew old in indigence: whereas Demades paraded with his wealth even in inſtances that were contrary to law: for there was a law at Athens, that no foreigner ſhould appear in the choruſſes upon the ſtage, under the penalty of a thouſand *drachmas* to be paid by the perſon who gave the entertainment. Yet Demades, in his exhibition, produced none but foreigners; and he paid the thouſand *drachmas* fine for each, though their number was a hundred. And when his ſon Demea was married, he ſaid, " When I " married your mother, the next neighbour hardly " knew it; but kings and princes contribute to the " expence of your nuptials."

The Athenians were continually importuning Phocion to perſuade Antipater to withdraw the garriſon; but whether it was that he deſpaired of ſucceſs, or rather becauſe he perceived that the people were more ſober and ſubmiſſive to government, under fear of that rod, he always declined the commiſſion. The only thing that he aſked and obtained of Antipater, was, that the money which the Athenians were to pay for the charges of the war, ſhould not be inſiſted on immediately, but a longer term granted. The Athenians, finding that Phocion would not meddle with the affair of the garriſon, applied to Demades, who readily undertook it. In conſe-

quence of this, he and his ſon took a journey to Macedonia. It ſhould ſeem, his evil genius led him thither; for he arrived juſt at the time when Antipater was in his laſt illneſs; and when Caſſander, now abſolute maſter of every thing, had intercepted a letter written by Demades to Antigonus in Aſia, inviting him to come over and ſeize Greece and Macedonia, "which," he ſaid, "hung only upon an old "rotten ſtalk;" ſo he contemptuouſly called Antipater. Caſſander no ſooner ſaw him, than he ordered him to be arreſted; and firſt he killed his ſon before his eyes, and ſo near, that the blood ſpouted upon him, and filled his boſom; then, after having reproached him with his ingratitude and perfidiouſneſs, he ſlew him likewiſe.

Antipater, a little before his death, had appointed Polyperchon general, and given Caſſander the command of a thouſand men. But Caſſander, far from being ſatisfied with ſuch an appointment, haſtened to ſeize the ſupreme power, and immediately ſent Nicanor to take the command of the garriſon from Menyllus, and to ſecure Munychia before the news of his father's death got abroad. This ſcheme was carried into execution; and, a few days after, the Athenians being informed of the death of Antipater, accuſed Phocion of being privy to that event, and concealing it out of friendſhip to Nicanor. Phocion, however, gave himſelf no pain about it: on the contrary, he converſed familiarly with Nicanor; and, by his aſſiduities, not only rendered him kind and obliging to the Athenians, but inſpired him with an ambition to diſtinguiſh himſelf by exhibiting games and ſhows to the people.

Meantime Polyperchon, to whom the care of the king's * perſon was committed, in order to countermine Caſſander, wrote letters to the Athenians, importing, "That the king reſtored them their an-

"cient

* The ſon of Alexander, who was yet very young.

" cient form of government;" according to which, all the people had a right to public employments. This was a ſnare he laid for Phocion. For, being deſirous of making himſelf maſter of Athens, (as ſoon appeared from his actions) he was ſenſible that he could not effect any thing while Phocion was in the way. He ſaw, too, that his expulſion would be no difficult taſk, when all who had been excluded from a ſhare in the adminiſtration were reſtored; and the orators and public informers were once more maſters of the tribunals.

As theſe letters raiſed great commotions among the people, Nicanor was deſirous to ſpeak * to them on that ſubject in the Piraeus; and, for that purpoſe, entered their aſſembly, truſting his perſon with Phocion. Dercyllus, who commanded for the king in the adjacent country, laid a ſcheme to ſeize him; but Nicanor getting timely information of his deſign, guarded againſt it, and ſoon ſhewed that he would wreak his vengeance on the city. Phocion then was blamed for letting him go when he had him in his hands: but he anſwered, " He could confide " in Nicanor's promiſes, and ſaw no reaſon to ſuſpect " him of any ill deſign. However," ſaid he, " be " the iſſue what it may, I had rather be found ſuf- " fering than doing what is unjuſt."

This anſwer of his, if we examine it with reſpect to himſelf only, will appear to be entirely the reſult of fortitude and honour: but, when we conſider that he hazarded the ſafety of his country, and, what is more, that he was general and firſt magiſtrate, I know not whether he did not violate a ſtronger and more reſpectable obligation. It is in vain to allege that Phocion was afraid of involving Athens in a war; and for that reaſon would not ſeize the perſon of Nicanor; and that he only urged the obligations

* Nicanor knew that Polyperchon's propoſal to reſtore the Democracy was merely a ſnare, and he wanted to make the Athenians ſenſible of it.

of juſtice and good faith, that Nicanor, by a grateful ſenſe of ſuch behaviour, might be prevailed upon to be quiet, and think of no injurious attempt againſt the Athenians. For the truth is, he had ſuch confidence in Nicanor, that when he had accounts brought him from ſeveral hands of his deſigns upon the Piraeus, of his ordering a body of mercenaries to Salamis; and of his bribing ſome of the inhabitants of the Piraeus, he would give no credit to any of theſe things. Nay, when Philomedes of the Borough of Lampra got an edict made, that all the Athenians ſhould take up arms, and obey the orders of Phocion, he took no care to act in purſuance of it, till Nicanor had brought his troops out of Munychia, and carried his trenches round the Piraeus. Then Phocion would have led the Athenians againſt him: but, by this time, they were become mutinous, and looked upon him with contempt.

At that juncture arrived Alexander, the ſon of Polyperchon, with an army, under pretence of aſſiſting the city againſt Nicanor; but, in reality, to avail himſelf of its fatal diviſions, and to ſeize it, if poſſible, for himſelf. For the exiles who entered the town with him, the foreigners, and ſuch citizens as had been ſtigmatized as infamous, with other mean people, reſorted to him, and all together made up a ſtrange diſorderly aſſembly, by whoſe ſuffrages the command was taken from Phocion, and other generals appointed. Had not Alexander been ſeen alone near the walls in conference with Nicanor, and by repeated interviews, given the Athenians cauſe of ſuſpicion, the city could not have eſcaped the danger it was in. Immediately the orator Agnonides ſingled out Phocion, and accuſed him of treaſon; which ſo much alarmed Callimedon and * Pericles, that they fled out of the city. Phocion, with

* *Pericles* here looks like an erroneous reading. Afterwards we find not *Pericles*, but *Charicles*, mentioned along with Callimedon. Charicles was Phocion's ſon-in-law.

with ſuch of his friends as did not forſake him, repaired to Polyperchon. Solon of Plateae, and Dinarchus of Corinth, who paſſed for the friends and confidents of Polyperchon, out of regard to Phocion, deſired to be of the party. But Dinarchus falling ill by the way, they were obliged to ſtop many days at Elatea. In the mean time, Archeſtratus propoſed a decree, and Agnonides got it paſſed, that deputies ſhould be ſent to Polyperchon, with an accuſation againſt Phocion.

The two parties came up to Polyperchon at the ſame time, as he was upon his march with the king*, near Pharuges, a town of Phocis, ſituated at the foot of Mount Acroriam, now called Galate. There Polyperchon placed the king under a golden canopy, and his friends on each ſide of him; and, before he proceeded to any other buſineſs, gave orders that Dinarchus ſhould be put to the torture, and afterwards diſpatched. This done, he gave the Athenians audience. But, as they filled the place with noiſe and tumult, interrupting each other with mutual accuſations to the council, Agnonides preſſed forwards and ſaid, "Put us all in one cage, and "ſend us back to Athens, to give account of our "conduct there." The king laughed at the propoſal; but the Macedonians who attended on that occaſion, and the ſtrangers who were drawn thither by curioſity, were deſirous of hearing the cauſe; and therefore made ſigns to the deputies to argue the matter there. However, it was far from being conducted with impartiality. Polyperchon often interrupted Phocion, who at laſt was ſo provoked, that he ſtruck his ſtaff upon the ground, and would ſpeak no more. Hegemon ſaid, Polyperchon himſelf could bear witneſs to his affectionate regard for

* This was Aridaeus the natural ſon of Philip. After ſome of Alexander's generals had raiſed him to the throne for their own purpoſes, he took the name of Philip, and reigned ſix years and a few months.

the people; and that general anſwered, "Do you "come here to ſlander me before the king?" Upon this, the king ſtarted up, and was going to run Hegemon through with his ſpear; but Polyperchon prevented him; and the council broke up immediately.

The guards then ſurrounded Phocion and his party, except a few, who, being at ſome diſtance, muffled themſelves up, and fled. Clitus carried the priſoners to Athens, under colour of having them tried there, but, in reality, only to have them put to death, as perſons already condemned. The manner of conducting the thing, made it a more melancholy ſcene. The priſoners were carried in carts through the Ceramicus to the theatre, where Clitus ſhut them up till the *Archons* had aſſembled the people. From this aſſembly, neither ſlaves, nor foreigners, nor perſons ſtigmatized as infamous, were excluded; the tribunal and the theatre were open to all. Then the king's letter was read; the purport of which was, "That he had found the priſoners "guilty of treaſon; but that he left it to the Athe-"nians, as freemen, who were to be governed by "their own laws, to paſs ſentence upon them."

At the ſame time Clitus preſented them to the people. The beſt of the citizens, when they ſaw Phocion, appeared greatly dejected, and covering their faces with their mantles, began to weep. One, however, had the courage to ſay, "Since the king leaves the "determination of ſo important a matter to the peo-"ple, it would be proper to command all ſlaves "and ſtrangers to depart." But the populace, inſtead of agreeing to that motion, cried out, "It "would be much more proper to ſtone all the fa-"vourers of oligarchy, all the enemies of the peo-"ple." After which, no one attempted to offer any thing in behalf of Phocion. It was with much difficulty that he obtained permiſſion to ſpeak. At laſt, ſilence being made, he ſaid, "Do you deſign

" to take away my life, juſtly, or unjuſtly?" Some of them anſwering, " Juſtly;" he ſaid, " How " can you know whether it will be juſtly, if you do " not hear me firſt?" As he did not find them inclinable in the leaſt to hear him, he advanced ſome paces forward, and ſaid, " Citizens of Athens, I " acknowledge I have done you injuſtice; and for " my faults in the adminiſtration, adjudge myſelf " guilty of death *; but why will you put theſe " men to death, who have never injured you?" The populace made anſwer, " Becauſe they are friends " to you." Upon which, he drew back, and reſigned himſelf quietly to his fate.

Agnonides then read the decree he had prepared; according to which, the people were to declare by their ſuffrages whether the priſoners appeared to be guilty or not; and if they appeared ſo, they were to ſuffer death. When the decree was read, ſome called for an additional clauſe for putting Phocion to the torture before execution; and inſiſted, that the rack and its managers ſhould be ſent for immediately. But Agnonides, obſerving that Clitus was diſpleaſed at that propoſal, and looking upon it himſelf as a barbarous and deteſtable thing, ſaid, " When " we take that villain Callimedon, let us put him " to the torture; but, indeed, my fellow-citizens, " I cannot conſent that Phocion ſhould have ſuch " hard meaſure." Upon this, one of the better-diſpoſed Athenians cried out, " Thou art certainly " right; for if we torture Phocion, what muſt we " do to thee?" There was, however, hardly one negative when the ſentence of death was propoſed: all the people gave their voices ſtanding; and ſome of them even crowned themſelves with flowers, as if it had been a matter of feſtivity. With Phocion, there

* It was the cuſtom for the perſon accuſed to lay ſome penalty on himſelf. Phocion chuſes the higheſt, thinking it might be a means to reconcile the Athenians to his friends; but it had not that effect.

there were Nicocles, Thudippus, Hegemon, and Pythocles. As for Demetrius the Phalerean, Callimedon, Charicles, and ſome others, who were abſent, the ſame ſentence was paſſed upon them.

After the Aſſembly was diſmiſſed, the convicts were ſent to priſon. The embraces of their friends and relations melted them into tears; and they all went on bewailing their fate, except Phocion. His countenance was the ſame as when the people ſent him out to command their armies; and the beholders could not but admire his invincible firmneſs and magnanimity. Some of his enemies, indeed, reviled him as he went along; and one of them even ſpit in his face: upon which, he turned to the magiſtrates, and ſaid, "Will nobody correct this fellow's rudeneſs?" Thudippus, when he ſaw the executioner pounding the hemlock, began to lament what hard fortune it was for him to ſuffer unjuſtly on Phocion's account. "What, then!" ſaid the venerable ſage, "doſt thou not think it an honour "to die with Phocion?" One of his friends aſking him, whether he had any commands to his ſon; "Yes," ſaid he, "by all means, tell him from me, "to forget the ill treatment I have had from the "Athenians." And when Nicocles, the moſt faithful of his friends, begged that he would let him drink the poiſon before him; "This," ſaid he, "Nicocles, is a hard requeſt; and the thing muſt give "me great uneaſineſs; but ſince I have obliged you "in every inſtance through life, I will do the ſame "in this."

When they came all to drink, the quantity proved not ſufficient; and the executioner refuſed to prepare more, except he had twelve *drachmas* paid him, which was the price of a full draught. As this occaſioned a troubleſome delay, Phocion called one of his friends, and ſaid, "Since one cannot die on "free coſt at Athens, give the man his money." This execution was on the nineteenth day of *April*,

April *, when there was a proceſſion of horſemen in honour of Jupiter. As the cavalcade paſſed by, ſome took off their chaplets from their heads; others ſhed tears as they looked at the priſon doors: all who had not hearts entirely ſavage, or were not corrupted by rage and envy, looked upon it as a moſt impious thing, not to have reprieved them at leaſt for that day, and ſo to have kept the city unpolluted on the feſtival.

However, the enemies of Phocion, as if ſomething had been wanting to their triumph, got an order that his body ſhould not be ſuffered to remain within the bounds of Attica; nor that any Athenian ſhould furniſh fire for the funeral pile. Therefore, no friend durſt touch it: but one Conopion, who lived by ſuch ſervices, for a ſum of money, carried the corpſe out of the territories of Eleuſis, and got fire for the burning of it in thoſe of Megara. A woman of Megara, who happened to aſſiſt at the ceremony with her maid-ſervants, raiſed a *cenotaph* upon the ſpot, and performed the cuſtomary libations. The bones ſhe gathered up carefully into her lap, carried them by night to her own houſe, and interred them under the hearth. At the ſame time ſhe thus addreſſed the domeſtic gods, "Ye guardians of this place, "to you I commit the remains of this good man. "Do you reſtore them to the ſepulchre of his "anceſtors, when the Athenians ſhall once more "liſten to the dictates of wiſdom."

The time was not long before the ſituation of their affairs taught them, how vigilant a magiſtrate, and how excellent a guardian of the virtues of juſtice and ſobriety, they had loſt. The people erected his ſtatue in braſs, and buried his remains at the public expence. Agnonides, his principal accuſer, they put to death, in conſequence of a decree for that purpoſe. Epicurus and Demophilus, the other two, fled from Athens; but afterwards fell into the hands of

* *Munychion.*

of Phocion's ſon, who puniſhed them as they deſerved. This ſon of his was, in other reſpects, a worthleſs man. He was in love with a girl, who was in a ſtate of ſervitude, and belonged to a trader in ſuch matters; and happening one day to hear Theodorus the Atheiſt maintain this argument in the Lyceum, "That if it is no ſhame to ranſom a "friend, it is no ſhame to redeem a miſtreſs," the diſcourſe was ſo flattering to his paſſion, that he went immediately and releaſed his female friend *.

The proceedings againſt Phocion put the Greeks in mind of thoſe againſt Socrates. The treatment of both was equally unjuſt, and the calamities thence entailed upon Athens were perfectly ſimilar †.

* It appears from the ancient comedy, that it was no uncommon thing for the young men of Athens to take their miſtreſſes out of ſuch ſhops, and, after they had releaſed them from ſervitude, to marry them.

† Socrates was put to death eighty-two years before.

CATO THE YOUNGER.

THE family of Cato had its firſt luſtre and diſtinction from his great grandfather, Cato the cenſor *, a man whoſe virtue, as we have obſerved in his life, ranked him with perſons of the greateſt reputation and authority in Rome. The Utican Cato, of whom we are now ſpeaking, was left an orphan, together with his brother Caepio, and his ſiſter Porcia. He had alſo another ſiſter called Servilia, but ſhe was only ſiſter by the mother's ſide †. The orphans were brought up in the houſe of Livius Druſus, their mother's brother, who at that time had great influence in the adminiſtration; to which he was entitled by his eloquence, his wiſdom, and dignity of mind, excellencies that put him upon an equality with the beſt of the Romans.

Cato, we are told, from his infancy diſcovered in his voice, his look, and his very diverſions, a firmneſs and ſolidity, which neither paſſion nor any thing elſe could move. He purſued every object he had in view with a vigour far above his years, and a reſolution that nothing could reſiſt. Thoſe who were inclined to flatter him were ſure to meet with a ſevere repulſe, and to thoſe who attempted to intimidate him, he was ſtill more untractable. Scarce any thing could make him laugh, and it was but rarely that his countenance was ſoftened to a ſmile. He was not quickly or eaſily moved to anger; but it was difficult to appeaſe his reſentment when once excited. His

* Cato the cenſor, at a very late period in life, married Salonia, daughter of his own ſteward. There was a family, however, from that ſecond match, which flouriſhed when that which came from the firſt was extinct.

† Servilia was not his only ſiſter by the mother's ſide; there were three of them. One, the mother of Brutus who killed Caeſar; another married to Lucullus; and a third, to Junius Silanus. Caepio, too, was his brother by the mother's ſide.

His apprehension was slow, and his learning came with difficulty; but what he had once learnt he long retained. It is, indeed, a common case for persons of quick parts to have weak memories, but what is gained with labour and application is always retained the longest: for every hard-gained acquisition of science, is a kind of annealing upon the mind *. † The inflexibility of his disposition seems also to have retarded his progress in learning. For, to learn is to submit to a new impression; and those submit the most easily who have the least power of resistance. Thus young men are more persuasible than the old, and the sick than such as are well; and in general, assent is most easily gained from those who are least able to find doubts and difficulties. Yet Cato is said to have been very obedient to his preceptor, and to have done whatever he was commanded; only he would always enquire the reason, and ask why such a thing was enjoined. Indeed, his preceptor Sarpedon (for that was his name) was a man of engaging manners, who chose rather to govern by reason, than by violence.

While Cato was yet a child, the Italian allies demanded to be admitted citizens of Rome. Popedius Silo, a man of great name as a soldier, and powerful among his people, had a friendship with Drusus, and lodged a long time in his house during this application. As he was familiar with the children, he said to them one day, "Come, my good "Children, desire your uncle to assist us in our sol-"licitation for the freedom." Caepio smiled, and readily gave his promise; but Cato made no answer. And as he was observed to look with a fixed and unkind eye upon the strangers, Popedius continued, "And you, my little man, what do you say? Will "not

* Γινεται γαρ οἱον εκκαυμα της ψυχης, των μαθηματων ἑκαστον.

† Δυσπιστον *slow to believe*, is the common reading; but Δυσπειστον, in which we are warranted by some manuscripts, is more suitable to what follows.

"not you give your guests your interest with "your uncle, as well as your brother?" Cato still refusing to answer, and appearing by his silence and his looks inclined to deny the request, Popedius took him to the window, and threatened, if he would not promise, to throw him out. This he did in a harsh tone, and at the same time gave him several shakes, as if he was going to let him fall. But, as the child bore this a long time without any marks of concern or fear, Popedius set him down, and said softly to his friends, "This child is the glory of "Italy. I verily believe, if he were a man, that "we should not get one vote among the people."

Another time, when a relation invited young Cato, with other children, to celebrate his birth-day, most of the children went to play together in a corner of the house. Their play was to mimick a court of justice *, where some were accused in form, and afterwards carried to prison. One of them, a beautiful boy, being condemned, and shut up by a bigger boy who acted as officer, in one of the apartments, called out on Cato; who, as soon as he understood what the matter was, ran to the door, and pushing away those who stood there as guards and attempted to oppose him, carried off the child, and went home in great anger; most of the children marching off with him.

These things gained him great reputation, of which the following is an extraordinary instance. When Sylla chose to exhibit a tournament of boys, which goes by the name of *Troy* †, and is considered as a sacred

* Children's plays are often taken from what is most familiar to them. In other countries they are commonly formed upon trifling subjects, but the Roman children acted trials in the courts of justice, the command of armies, triumphal processions, and, in later times the state of emperors. Suetonius tells us that Nero commanded his son-in-law Rufinus Crispinus, the son of Poppaea, a child, to be thrown into the sea, because he was said to delight in plays of the last-mentioned kind.

† The invention of this game is generally ascribed to Ascanius. It was celebrated in the public *circus* by companies of boys, who were

cred exhibition, he ſelected two bands of young gentlemen, and aſſigned them two captains, one of which they readily accepted, on account of his being the ſon of Metella, the wife of Sylla; but the other, named Sextus, though he was nephew to Pompey the Great, they abſolutely rejected, and would not go out to exerciſe under him. Sylla then aſking them, "whom they would have," they unanimouſly cried "Cato;" and Sextus himſelf readily yielded the honour to him, as a boy of ſuperior parts.

The friendſhip which had ſubſiſted between Sylla and the father of Cato, induced him ſometimes to ſend for the young man and his brother Caepio, and to talk familiarly with them: a favour, which, by reaſon of his dignity he conferred on very few. Sarpedon thinking ſuch an intercourſe a great advantage to his ſcholar, both in point of honour and ſafety, often took Cato to pay his reſpects to the dictator. Sylla's houſe at that time looked like nothing but a place of execution; ſuch were the numbers of people tortured and put to death there. Cato, who now was in his fourteenth year, ſeeing the heads of many illuſtrious perſonages carried out, and obſerving that the bye-ſtanders ſighed in ſecret at theſe ſcenes of blood, aſked his preceptor "why ſome-"body did not kill that man?" "Becauſe," ſaid he, "they fear him more than they hate him." "Why "then," ſaid Cato, "do not you give me a ſword, "that I may kill him, and deliver my country from "ſlavery?" When Sarpedon heard ſuch a ſpeech from the boy, and ſaw with what a ſtern and angry look he uttered it, he was greatly alarmed, and watched him narrowly afterwards, to prevent his attempting ſome raſh action.

When he was but a child, he was aſked one day, whom he loved moſt, and he anſwered, "His bro-"ther."

were furniſhed with arms ſuitable to their ſtrength. They were taken, for the moſt part, out of the nobleſt families in Rome. See an excellent deſcription of it in Virgil, Æn. ver. 545, &c.

"ther." The perſon who put the queſtion, then aſked him, "whom he loved next," and again he ſaid, "His brother;" "whom in the third place," and ſtill it was "His brother:" and ſo on till he put no more queſtions to him about it. This affection increaſed with his years, inſomuch that when he was twenty years old, if he ſupped, if he went out into the country, if he appeared in the *forum*, Caepio muſt be with him. But he would not make uſe of perfumes as Caepio did; indeed, the whole courſe of his life was ſtrict and auſtere: ſo that when Caepio was ſometimes commended for his temperance and ſobriety, he would ſay, "I may have ſome claim "to theſe virtues, when compared with other men; "but when I compare myſelf with Cato, I ſeem a "mere Sippius." Sippius was the name of a perſon remarkably effeminate and luxurious.

After Cato had taken upon him the prieſthood of Apollo, he changed his dwelling, and took his ſhare of the paternal eſtate, which amounted to a hundred and twenty talents. But though his fortune was ſo conſiderable, his manner of living was more frugal and ſimple than ever. He formed a particular connection with Antipater of Tyre, the Stoic philoſopher; and the knowledge he was the moſt ſtudious of acquiring, was the moral and the political. He was carried to every virtue with an impulſe like inſpiration; but his greateſt attachment was to juſtice, and juſtice of that ſevere and inflexible kind which is not to be wrought upon by favour or compaſſion*. He cultivated alſo that eloquence which is fit for popular aſſemblies; for, as in a great city there ſhould be an extraordinary ſupply for war, ſo in the political philoſophy he thought there ſhould be a proviſion for troubleſome

* Cicero, in his oration for Murena, gives us a fine ſatire upon thoſe maxims of the Stoics which Cato made the rule of his life, and which, as he obſerves, were only fit to flouriſh within the portico.

times. Yet he did not declaim before company, nor go to hear the exerciſes of other young men. And when one of his friends ſaid, "Cato, the world "finds fault with your ſilence," he anſwered, "No "matter, ſo long as it does not find fault with my "life. I ſhall begin to ſpeak, when I have things "to ſay that deſerve to be known."

In the public hall called the *porcian*, which was built by old Cato in his cenſorſhip, the tribunes of the people uſed to hold their court. And, as there was a pillar which incommoded their benches, they reſolved either to remove it to a diſtance, or to take it entirely away. This was the firſt thing that drew Cato to the *roſtra*, and even then it was againſt his inclination. However, he oppoſed the deſign effectually, and gave an admirable ſpecimen, both of his eloquence and ſpirit. For there was nothing of youthful ſallies or finical affectation in his oratory; all was rough, ſenſible, and ſtrong. Nevertheleſs, amidſt the ſhort and ſolid turn of the ſentences, there was a grace that engaged the ear; and with the gravity which might be expected from his manners, there was ſomething of humour and raillery intermixed, which had an agreeable effect. His voice was loud enough to be heard by ſuch a multitude of people, and his ſtrength was ſuch, that he often ſpoke a whole day without being tired.

After he had gained his cauſe, he returned to his former ſtudies and ſilence. To ſtrengthen his conſtitution, he uſed the moſt laborious exerciſe. He accuſtomed himſelf to go bareheaded in the hotteſt and coldeſt weather, and travelled on foot at all ſeaſons of the year. His friends who travelled with him, made uſe of horſes, and he joined ſometimes one, ſometimes another, for converſation, as he went along. In time of ſickneſs, his patience and abſtinence were extraordinary. If he happened to have a fever, he ſpent the whole day alone, ſuffering no perſon

perſon to approach him, 'till he found a ſenſible change for the better.

At entertainments they threw dice for the choice of the meſſes; and if Cato loſt the firſt choice, his friends uſed to offer it him; but he always refuſed it.—"Venus*," ſaid he, "forbids." At firſt he uſed to riſe from table after having drank once; but in proceſs of time he came to love drinking, and would ſometimes ſpend the whole night over the bottle. His friends excuſed him by ſaying, "That "the buſineſs of the ſtate employed him all day, "and left him no time for converſation, and "therefore he ſpent his evenings in diſcourſe with "the philoſophers." And, when one Memmius ſaid in company, "that Cato ſpent whole nights in "drinking;" Cicero retorted, "But you cannot "ſay that he ſpends whole days at play."

Cato ſaw that a great reformation was wanting in the manners and cuſtoms of his country, and for that reaſon he determined to go contrary to the corrupt faſhions which then obtained. He obſerved (for inſtance) that the richeſt and moſt lively purple was the thing moſt worn, and therefore he went in black. Nay, he often appeared in public after dinner bare-footed and without his gown. Not that he affected to be talked of for that ſingularity; but he did it by way of learning to be aſhamed of nothing but what was really ſhameful, and not to regard what depended only on the eſtimation of the world.

A great eſtate falling to him by the death of a couſin-german of the ſame name, he turned it into money, to the amount of a hundred talents; and when any of his friends wanted to borrow a ſum, he lent it them without intereſt. If he could not otherwiſe ſupply them, he ſuffered even his own land and ſlaves to be mortgaged for them to the treaſury.

* The moſt favourable caſt upon the dice was called *Venus*. Horace alludes to it, ode vii. lib. 2

He knew no woman before his marriage; and when he thought himſelf of a proper age to enter into that ſtate, he ſet a treaty on foot with Lepida, who had before been contracted to Metellus Scipio, but, upon Scipio's breaking the engagement, was then at liberty. However, before the marriage could take place, Scipio repented; and by the aſſiduity of his management and addreſs, ſucceeded with the lady. Provoked at this ill treatment, Cato was deſirous to go to law for redreſs; and, as his friends over-ruled him in that reſpect, youthful reſentment put him upon writing ſome *iambics* againſt Scipio, which had all the keenneſs of Archilochus, without his obſcenity and ſcurrility.

After this, he married Atilia the daughter of Soranus, who was the firſt, but not the only woman he ever knew. In this reſpect Laelius, the friend of Scipio Africanus, was * happier than he; for in the courſe of a long life he had only one wife, and no intercourſe with any other woman.

In the *ſervile* war † (I mean that with Spartacus) Gellius was general; and Cato ſerved in it as a volunteer, for the ſake of his brother Caepio, who was tribune: but he could not diſtinguiſh his vivacity and courage as he wiſhed, becauſe the war was ill-conducted. However, amidſt the effeminacy and luxury which then prevailed in the army, he paid ſo much regard to diſcipline, and, when occaſion ſerved, behaved with ſo much ſpirit and valour, as well as coolneſs and capacity, that he appeared not in the leaſt inferior to Cato the cenſor. Gellius made him an offer of the beſt military rewards and honours; but he would not accept or allow of them; "for," ſaid he, "I have done nothing that deſerves ſuch "notice."

Theſe

* Plutarch ſeems to us to have ſpoken ſo feelingly of the happineſs of the conjugal connection long continued with one affectionate wife, from his own experience.

† Seventy-one years before the Chriſtian Æra.

Theſe things made him paſs for a man of a ſtrange and ſingular turn. Beſides, when a law was made, that no man who ſollicited any office, ſhould take *nomenclators* with him, he was the only one that obeyed it; for when he applied for a tribune's commiſſion in the army, he had previouſly made himſelf maſter of the names of all the citizens. Yet for this he was envied, even by thoſe who praiſed him. The more they conſidered the excellence of his conduct, the more pain it gave them to think how hard it was to imitate.

With a tribune's commiſſion he was ſent into Macedonia, where Rubrius the Praetor commanded. His wife, upon his departure, was in great diſtreſs, and we are told that Munatius, a friend of Cato's, in order to comfort her, ſaid, "Take courage, Atilia; "I will take care of your huſband." "By all "means," anſwered Cato. At the end of the firſt day's march, after they had ſupped, he ſaid, "Come, "Munatius, that you may the better perform your "promiſe to Atilia, you ſhall not leave me either "day or night." In conſequence of which, he ordered two beds in his own tent, and made a pleaſant improvement upon the matter; for, as Munatius always ſlept by him, it was not he that took care of Cato, but Cato that took care of him.

Cato had with him fifteen ſlaves, two freedmen, and four of his friends. Theſe rode on horſeback, and he always went on foot; yet he kept up with them, and converſed with them by turns. When he joined the army, which conſiſted of ſeveral legions, Rubrius gave him the command of one. In this poſt he thought it nothing great or extraordinary to be diſtinguiſhed by his own virtue only; it was his ambition to make all the troops that were under his care like himſelf. With this view he leſſened nothing of that authority which might inſpire fear, but he called in the ſupport of reaſon to it's aſſiſtance. By inſtruction and perſuaſion, as well as

by rewards and puniſhments, he formed them ſo well, that it was hard to ſay whether his troops were more peaceable or more warlike, more valiant or more juſt. They were dreadful to their enemies, and courteous to their allies; afraid to do a diſhonourable thing, and ambitious of honeſt praiſe.

Hence, though honour and fame were not Cato's objects, they flowed in upon him; he was held in univerſal eſteem, and had entirely the hearts of his ſoldiers. For whatever he commanded others to do, he was the firſt to do himſelf. In his dreſs, his manner of living and marching, he reſembled the private ſoldier more than the officer; and at the ſame time, in virtue, in dignity of mind, and ſtrength of eloquence, he far exceeded all that had the name of generals. By theſe means he inſenſibly gained the affections of his troops. And, indeed, virtue does not attract imitation, except the perſon who gives the patterns is beloved as well as eſteemed. Thoſe who praiſe good men without loving them, only pay a reſpect to their name, but do not ſincerely admire their virtue, nor have any inclination to follow their example.

At that time there lived at Pergamus a Stoic philoſopher, named Athenodorus, and ſurnamed Cordylio, in great reputation for his knowledge. He was now grown old, and had long reſiſted the applications of princes and other great men, who wanted to draw him to their courts, and offered him their friendſhip and very conſiderable appointments. Cato thence concluded that it would be in vain to write or ſend any meſſenger to him; and, as the laws gave him leave of abſence for two months, he ſailed to Aſia, and applied to him in perſon, in confidence that his accompliſhments would carry his point with him. Accordingly, by his arguments and the charms of his converſation, he drew him from his purpoſe, and brought him with him to the camp; as happy and as proud of this ſucceſs, as if he had made a more

more valuable capture, or performed a more glorious exploit, than thoſe of Pompey and Lucullus, who were then ſubduing the provinces and kingdoms of the eaſt.

While he was with the army in Macedonia, he had notice by letter that his brother Caepio was fallen ſick at Ænus in Thrace. The ſea was extremely rough, and no large veſſel to be had. He ventured, however, to ſail from Theſſalonica, in a ſmall paſſage-boat, with two friends and three ſervants, and having very narrowly eſcaped drowning, arrived at Ænus juſt after Caepio expired. On this occaſion Cato ſhewed the ſenſibility of a brother, rather than the fortitude of a philoſopher. He wept, he groaned, he embraced the dead body; and beſides theſe and other tokens of the greateſt ſorrow, he ſpent vaſt ſums upon his funeral. The ſpices and rich robes that were burnt with him were very expenſive, and he erected a monument for him of Thaſian marble in the *forum* at Ænus, which coſt no leſs than eight talents.

Some condemned theſe things as little agreeable to the modeſty and ſimplicity which Cato profeſſed in general; but they did not perceive that with all his firmneſs and inflexibility to the ſolicitations of pleaſure, of terror, and importunity, he had great tenderneſs and ſenſibility in his nature. Many cities and princes ſent preſents of great value, to do honour to the obſequies, but he would not accept any thing in money. All that he would receive was ſpices and ſtuffs, and thoſe too only on condition of paying for them.

He was left coheir with Caepio's daughter, to his eſtate; but when they came to divide it, he would not charge any part of the funeral expences to her account. Yet, though he acted ſo honourably in that affair, and continued in the ſame upright path, there was one * who ſcrupled not to write, that he

* Julius Caeſar in his *Anticato*.

paſſed his brother's aſhes through a ſieve, in ſearch of the gold that might be melted down. Surely that writer thought himſelf above being called to account, for his pen, as well as for his ſword!

Upon the expiration of his commiſſion, Cato was honoured at his departure, not only with the common good wiſhes for his health and praiſes of his conduct, but with tears and the moſt affectionate embraces; the ſoldiers ſpread their garments in his way, and kiſſed his hands: inſtances of eſteem which few generals met with from the Romans in thoſe times.

But before he returned to Rome, to apply for a ſhare in the adminiſtration, he reſolved to viſit Aſia, and ſee with his own eyes the manners, cuſtoms, and ſtrength of every province. At the ſame time he was willing to oblige Deiotarus king of Galatia, who, on account of the engagements of hoſpitality that he had entered into with his father, had given him a very preſſing invitation.

His manner of travelling was this. Early in the morning he ſent his baker and his cook to the place where he intended to lodge the next night. Theſe entered the town in a very modeſt and civil manner, and if they found there no friend or acquaintance of Cato or his family, they took up lodgings for him, and prepared his ſupper at an inn, without giving any one the leaſt trouble. If there happened to be no inn, they applied to the magiſtrates for quarters, and were always ſatisfied with thoſe aſſigned them. Very often they were not believed to be Cato's ſervants, but entirely diſregarded *, becauſe they came not to the magiſtrates in a clamorous and threatening manner; inſomuch that their maſter arrived before they could procure lodgings. It was worſe ſtill when Cato himſelf made his appearance, for the townſmen ſeeing him ſet down on the luggage without ſpeaking a word, took him for a man of a mean and

* *Apparet ſervum hunc eſſe domini pauperis miſerique.* TERENT. *Eunuch.* iii. 2.

and daſtardly ſpirit. Sometimes, however, he would ſend for the magiſtrates, and ſay, "Wretches, why "do not you learn a proper hoſpitality? You will "not find all that apply to you, Cato's. Do not "then by your ill treatment give thoſe occaſion to "exert their authority, who only want a pretence "to take from you by violence, what you give with "ſo much reluctance."

In Syria, we are told, he met with an humourous adventure. When he came to Antioch, he ſaw a number of people ranged in good order without the gates. On one ſide the way ſtood the young men in their mantles, and on the other the boys in their beſt attire. Some wore white robes, and had crowns on their heads; theſe were the prieſts and the magiſtrates. Cato imagining that this magnificent reception was intended to do him honour, began to be angry with his ſervants, who were ſent before, for not preventing ſuch a compliment. Nevertheleſs, he deſired his friends to alight, and walked with them towards theſe Antiochians. When they were near enough to be ſpoken to, the maſter of the ceremonies, an elderly man, with a ſtaff and a crown in his hand, addreſſed himſelf firſt to Cato, and, without ſo much as ſaluting him, aſked how far Demetrius was behind; and when he might be expected. Demetrius was Pompey's freedman; and, as the eyes of all the world were then fixed upon Pompey, they paid more reſpect to this favourite of his than he had any right to claim. Cato's friends were ſeized with ſuch a fit of laughter, that they could not recover themſelves as they paſſed through the crowd. Cato himſelf, in ſome confuſion, cried out, "Alas, poor city!" and ſaid not a word more. Afterwards, however, he uſed always to laugh when he told the ſtory.

But Pompey took care to prevent the people of Aſia from making any more miſtakes of this kind for want of knowing Cato. For Cato, when he came to Epheſus, going to pay his reſpects to Pompey,

pey, as his ſuperior in point of age and dignity, and as the commander of ſuch great armies; Pompey ſeeing him at ſome diſtance, did not wait to receive him ſitting, but roſe up to meet him, and gave him his hand with great cordiality. He ſaid much, too, in commendation of his virtue while he was preſent, and ſpoke more freely in his praiſe when he was gone. Every one, after this, paid great attention to Cato; and he was admired for what before had expoſed him to contempt; for they could now ſee that his ſedate and ſubdued conduct was the effect of his greatneſs of mind. Beſides, it was viſible that Pompey's behaviour to him was the conſequence rather of reſpect than love; and that, though he expreſſed his admiration of him when preſent, he was glad when he was gone. For the other young Romans that came to ſee him, he preſſed much to ſtay and ſpend ſome time with him: To Cato he gave no ſuch invitation; but, as if he thought himſelf under ſome reſtraint in his proceedings while he ſtayed, readily diſmiſſed him. However, amongſt all the Romans that returned to Rome, to Cato only he recommended his wife and children, who indeed were his relations.

His fame now going before him, the cities in his way ſtrove which ſhould do him moſt honour, by invitations, entertainments, and every other mark of regard. On theſe occaſions, Cato uſed to deſire his friends to look well to him, leſt he ſhould make good the ſaying of Curio. Curio, who was one of his particular friends and companions, but diſapproved his auſterity, aſked him one day, "Whether he was inclined "to viſit Aſia when his time of ſervice was expired?" Cato anſwered, "Yes, by all means;" upon which Curio ſaid, "It is well; you will return a little more "practicable;" uſing an expreſſive Latin word to "that purpoſe *.

Deiotarus,

* Suppoſed to be *manſuetior*. As Cato underſtood it in a diſadvantageous ſenſe, we have rendered it by the word *practicable*, which conveys that idea.

Deiotarus, king of Galatia, being far advanced in years, ſent for Cato, with a deſign to recommend his children, and all his family, to his protection. As ſoon as he came, he offered him a variety of valuable preſents, and urged him ſtrongly to accept them: which importunity ſo much diſpleaſed him, that though he came in the evening, he ſtayed only that night, and went away at the third hour the next morning. After he had gone a day's journey, he found at Peſſinas a greater number of preſents, with letters intreating him to receive them; "or if you "will not accept them," ſaid Deiotarus, "at leaſt "permit your friends to take them, who deſerve "ſome reward for their ſervices, and yet cannot ex-"pect it out of your own eſtate." Cato, however, would give them no ſuch permiſſion, though he obſerved that ſome of his friends caſt a longing eye that way, and were viſibly chagrined. "Corrup-"tion," ſaid he, "will never want a pretence. "But you ſhall be ſure to ſhare with me whatever I "can get with juſtice and honour." He therefore ſent Deiotarus his preſents back.

When he was taking ſhip for Brunduſium, his friends adviſed him to put Caepio's remains on board another veſſel *; but he declared, "He would "ſooner part with his life than with them;" and ſo he ſet ſail. It is ſaid, the ſhip he was in, happened to be in great danger, though all the reſt had a tolerable paſſage.

After his return to Rome, he ſpent his time either in converſation with Athenodorus at home, or in the forum in the ſervice of his friends. Though he was of a proper age † to offer himſelf for the quaeſtorſhip, he would not ſollicit it till he had qualified

* From a ſuperſtition which commonly obtained, they imagined that a dead body on board a ſhip would raiſe a ſtorm. Plutarch, by uſing the word *happened* juſt below, ſhews that he did not give into that ſuperſtitious notion, though too apt to do thoſe things.

† Twenty-four or twenty-five years of age.

lified himſelf for that office, by ſtudying all the laws relating to it, by making enquiries of ſuch as were experienced in it; and thus gaining a thorough knowledge of its whole intention and proceſs. Immediately upon his entering on it, he made a great reformation among the ſecretaries and other officers of the treaſury. The public papers, and the rules of court, were what they were well verſed in; and as young quaeſtors were continually coming into the direction, who were ignorant of the laws and records, the under-officers took upon them not only to inſtruct, but to dictate to them; and were, in fact, quaeſtors themſelves. Cato corrected this abuſe. He applied himſelf with great vigour to the buſineſs, and had not only the name and honour, but thoroughly underſtood all that belonged to that department. Conſequently, he made uſe of the ſecretaries only as ſervants, which they really were; ſometimes correcting wilful abuſes, and ſometimes the miſtakes which they made through ignorance. As the licence in which they had lived, had made them refractory, and they hoped to ſecure themſelves by flattering the other quaeſtors, they boldly withſtood Cato. He therefore diſmiſſed the principal of them, whom he had detected in a fraud in the diviſion of an eſtate. Againſt another he lodged an indictment for forgery. His defence was undertaken by Lutatius Catulus, then cenſor; a man whoſe authority was not only ſupported by his high office, but ſtill more by his reputation; for, in juſtice and regularity of life, he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf above all the Romans of his time. He was alſo a friend and favourer of Cato, on account of his upright conduct; yet he oppoſed him in this cauſe. Perceiving he had not right on his ſide, he had recourſe to intreaties; but Cato would not ſuffer him to proceed in that manner; and, as he did not deſiſt, took occaſion to ſay, "It would be a great diſgrace for "you, Catulus, who are cenſor and inſpector of our "lives

"lives and manners, to be turned out of court by "my lictors." Catulus gave him a look, as if he intended to make anſwer; however, he did not ſpeak: Either through anger or ſhame, he went off ſilent, and greatly diſconcerted. Nevertheleſs, the man was not condemned. As the number of voices againſt him exceeded thoſe for him by one only, Catulus deſired the aſſiſtance of Marcus Lollius, Cato's colleague, who was prevented by ſickneſs from attending the trial; but, upon this application, was brought in a litter into court, and gave the determining voice in favour of the defendant. Yet Cato would not reſtore him to his employment, or pay him his ſtipend; for he conſidered the partial ſuffrage of Lollius as a thing of no account.

The ſecretaries thus humbled and ſubdued, he took the direction of the public papers and finances into his own hand. By theſe means, in a little time he rendered the treaſury more reſpectable than the ſenate itſelf; and it was commonly thought, as well as ſaid, that Cato had given the quaeſtorſhip all the dignity of the conſulate. For, having made it his buſineſs to find out all the debts of long ſtanding due to the public, and what the public was indebted to private perſons, he ſettled thoſe affairs in ſuch a manner, that the commonwealth could no longer either do or ſuffer any injury in that reſpect; ſtrictly demanding and inſiſting on the payment of whatever was owing to the ſtate; and, at the ſame time, readily and freely ſatisfying all who had claims upon it. This naturally gained him reverence among the people, when they ſaw many obliged to pay, who hoped never to have been called to account; and many receiving debts which they had given up as deſperate. His predeceſſors had often, through intereſt or perſuaſion, accepted falſe bills, and pretended orders of ſenate; but nothing of that kind eſcaped Cato. There was one order in particular, which he ſuſpected to be forged; and, though it had

had many witneſſes to ſupport it, he would not allow it till the conſuls came and declared it upon oath.

There was a number of Aſſaſſins employed in the laſt proſcription, to whom Sylla had given twelve thouſand *drachmas* for each head they brought him: Theſe were looked upon by all the world as the moſt execrable villains; yet no man had ventured to take vengeance on them. Cato, however, ſummoned all who had received the public money for ſuch unjuſt ſervices, and made them refund; inveighing, at the ſame time, with equal reaſon and ſeverity, againſt their impious and abominable deeds. Theſe wretches, thus diſgraced, and, as it were, prejudged, were afterwards indicted for murder before the judges, who puniſhed them as they deſerved. All ranks of people rejoiced at theſe executions; they thought they ſaw the tyranny rooted out with theſe men, and Sylla himſelf capitally puniſhed in the death of his miniſters.

The people were alſo delighted with his indefatigable diligence; for he always came to the treaſury before his colleagues, and was the laſt that left it. There was no aſſembly of the people, or meeting of the ſenate, which he did not attend, in order to keep a watchful eye upon all partial remiſſions of fines and duties, and all unreaſonable grants. Thus having cleared the exchequer of informers, and all ſuch vermin, and filled it with treaſure, he ſhewed that it is poſſible for government to be rich without oppreſſing the ſubject. At firſt this conduct of his was very obnoxious to his colleagues, but in time it came to be agreeable; becauſe, by refuſing to give away any of the public money, or to make any partial determination, he ſtood the rage of diſappointed avarice for them all; and, to the importunity of ſollicitation they could anſwer, that they could do nothing without the conſent of Cato.

The

The laſt day of his office he was conducted home by almoſt the whole body of citizens. But, by the way, he was informed that ſome of the principal men in Rome, who had great influence upon Marcellus, were beſieging him in the treaſury, and preſſing him to make out an order for ſums which they pretended to be due to them. Marcellus, from his childhood, was a friend of Cato's, and a good quaeſtor, while he acted with him; but, when he acted alone, he was too much influenced by perſonal regards for petitioners, and by a natural inclination to oblige. Cato, therefore, immediately turned back, and, finding Marcellus already prevailed upon to make out the order, he called for the regiſters, and eraſed it; Marcellus all the while ſtanding by in ſilence. Not content with this, he took him out of the treaſury, and led him to his own houſe. Marcellus, however, did not complain, either then, or afterwards, but continued the ſame friendſhip and intimacy with him to the laſt.

After the time of his quaeſtorſhip was expired, Cato kept a watchful eye upon the treaſury. He had his ſervants there daily minuting down the proceedings; and he ſpent much time himſelf in peruſing the public accounts from the time of Sylla to his own; a copy of which he had purchaſed for five talents.

Whenever the ſenate was ſummoned to meet, he was the firſt to give his attendance, and the laſt to withdraw; and oftentimes, while the reſt were ſlowly aſſembling, he would ſit down and read, holding his gown before his book; nor would he ever be out of town when a houſe was called. Pompey finding that, in all his unwarrantable attempts, he muſt find a ſevere and inexorable opponent in Cato, when he had a point of that kind to carry, threw in his way either the cauſe of ſome friend to plead, or arbitration, or other buſineſs to attend to. But Cato ſoon perceived the ſnare, and rejected all the applications of

of his friends; declaring, that, when the ſenate was to ſit, he would never undertake any other buſineſs. For his attention to the concerns of government was not, like that of ſome others, guided by the views of honour or profit, nor left to chance or humour; but he thought *a good citizen ought to be as ſollicitous about the public, as a bee is about her hive.* For this reaſon he deſired his friends, and others with whom he had connections in the provinces, to give him an account of the edicts, the important deciſions, and all the principal buſineſs tranſacted there.

He made a point of it to oppoſe Clodius the ſeditious Demagogue, who was always propoſing ſome dangerous law, or ſome change in the conſtitution, or accuſing the prieſts and veſtals to the people. Fabia Terentia, ſiſter to Cicero's wife, and one of the veſtals, was impeached among the reſt, and in danger of being condemned. But Cato defended the cauſe of theſe injured people ſo well, that Clodius was forced to withdraw in great confuſion, and leave the city. When Cicero came to thank him for this ſervice, he ſaid, "You muſt thank your country, "whoſe utility is the ſpring that guides all my ac-"tions."

His reputation came to be ſo great, that a certain orator, in a cauſe where only one witneſs was produced, ſaid to the judges, "One man's evidence "is not ſufficient to go by, not even if it was Ca-"to's." It grew, indeed, into a kind of proverb, when people were ſpeaking of ſtrange and incredible things, to ſay, "I would not believe ſuch a thing, "though it were affirmed by Cato."

A man profuſe in his expences, and in all reſpects of a worthleſs character, taking upon him one day to ſpeak in the ſenate in praiſe of temperance and ſobriety, Amnaeus roſe up and ſaid, "Who can "endure to hear a man who eats and drinks like "Craſſus, and builds like Lucullus, pretend to "talk here like Cato?" Hence others, who were diſſolute

diſſolute and abandoned in their lives, but preſerved a gravity and auſterity in their diſcourſe, came by way of ridicule to be called *Cato*'s.

His friends adviſed him to offer himſelf for the tribuneſhip; but he thought it was not yet time. He ſaid, "he looked upon an office of ſuch power "and authority, as a violent medicine, which ought "not to be uſed except in caſes of great neceſſity." As, at that time, he had no public buſineſs to engage him, he took his books and philoſophers with him, and ſet out for Lucania, where he had lands, and an agreeable country retreat. By the way he met with a number of horſes, carriages, and ſervants, which he found to belong to Metellus Nepos, who was going to Rome to apply for the tribuneſhip. This put him to a ſtand: he remained ſome time in deep thought, and then gave his people orders to turn back. To his friends, who were ſurpriſed at this conduct, "Know ye not," ſaid he, "that Metellus "is formidable even in his ſtupidity? But remem- "ber, that he now follows the counſels of Pompey; "that the ſtate lies proſtrate before him; and that "he will fall upon and cruſh it with the force of a "thunderbolt. Is this then a time for the purſuit "of rural amuſements? Let us reſcue our liberties, "or die in their defence!" Upon the remonſtrance of his friends, however, he proceeded to his farm; and after a ſhort ſtay there, returned to the city. He arrived in the evening, and early next morning went to the *forum*, as a candidate for the tribuneſhip, in oppoſition to Metellus: for to oppoſe, is the nature of that office; and its power is chiefly negative; inſomuch, that the diſſent of a ſingle voice is ſufficient to diſannul a meaſure in which the whole aſſembly beſide has concurred.

Cato was at firſt attended only by a ſmall number of his friends; but, when his intentions were made known, he was immediately ſurrounded by men of honour and virtue, the reſt of his acquaintance, who

gave him the ſtrongeſt encouragement, and ſollicited him to apply for the tribuneſhip, not as it might imply a favour conferred on himſelf, but as it would be an honour and an advantage to his fellow-citizens: obſerving, at the ſame time, that, though it had been frequently in his power to obtain this office without the trouble of oppoſition; yet he now ſtepped forth, regardleſs, not only of that trouble, but even of perſonal danger, when the liberties of his country were at ſtake. Such was the zeal and eagerneſs of the people that preſſed around him, that it was with the utmoſt difficulty he made his way to the *forum*.

Being appointed tribune, with Metellus amongſt the reſt, he obſerved that great corruption had crept into the conſular elections. On this ſubject he gave a ſevere charge to the people, which he concluded, by affirming on oath, that he would proſecute every one that ſhould offend in that way. He took care, however, that Silanus *, who had married his ſiſter Servilia, ſhould be excepted. But againſt Muræna, who, by means of bribery, had carried the conſulſhip at the ſame time with Silanus, he laid an information. By the laws of Rome, the perſon accuſed has power to ſet a guard upon him who lays the information, that he may have no opportunity of ſupporting a falſe accuſation by private machinations before his trial. When the perſon that was appointed Muræna's officer, on this occaſion, obſerved the liberal and candid conduct of Cato; that he ſought only to ſupport his information by fair and open evidence; he was ſo ſtruck with the excellence and dignity

* From this paſſage it ſhould ſeem that Plutarch ſuppoſed Cato to be capable of ſacrificing to family connections. But the fault lies rather in the hiſtorian than in the tribune. For, is it to be ſuppoſed that the rigid virtue of Cato, ſhould deſcend to the moſt obnoxious circumſtances of predilection? It is not poſſible to have a ſtronger inſtance of his integrity, than his refuſing the alliance of Pompey the Great; though that refuſal was impolitic, and attended with bad conſequences to the ſtate.

dignity of his character, that he would frequently wait upon him in the *forum*, or at his houſe, and, after enquiring whether he ſhould proceed that day in the buſineſs of the information, if Cato anſwered in the negative, he made no ſcruple of leaving him. When the trial came on, Cicero, who was then conſul, and Muræna's advocate, by way of playing upon Cato, threw out many pleaſant things againſt the ſtoics, and their paradoxical philoſophy. This occaſioned no ſmall mirth amongſt the judges: upon which Cato only obſerved with a ſmile, to thoſe who ſtood next him, that Rome had indeed a moſt laughable conſul *. Muræna acted a very prudent part with regard to Cato; for, though acquitted of the charge he had brought againſt him, he nevertheleſs conſulted him on all occaſions of importance during his conſulſhip; reſpected him for his ſenſe and virtue, and made uſe of his counſels in the adminiſtration of government. For Cato, on the bench, was the moſt rigid diſpenſer of juſtice; though, in private ſociety, he was affable and humane.

Before he was appointed tribune in the conſulſhip of Cicero, he ſupported the ſupreme magiſtrate in a very ſeaſonable manner, by many excellent meaſures during the turbulent times of Cataline. It is well known that this man meditated nothing leſs than a total ſubverſion of the Roman ſtate; and that, by the ſpirited counſels and conduct of Cicero, he was obliged to fly from Rome without affecting his purpoſe. But Lentulus, Cethegus, and the reſt of the conſpirators, after reproaching Cataline for his timidity, and the feebleneſs of his enterprizes, reſolved to diſtinguiſh themſelves at leaſt more effectually. Their ſcheme was nothing leſs than to burn the city, and deſtroy the empire, by the revolt of the colonies and foreign wars. Upon the diſcovery of this conſpiracy,

* The French and Engliſh tranſlators have it, *a pleaſant conſul*. But that does not convey the ſarcaſm that Cato meant. Ridiculum eſt quod riſum facit.

ſpiracy, Cicero, as we have obſerved in his life, called a council; and the firſt that ſpoke was Silanus. He gave it as his opinion, that the conſpirators ſhould be puniſhed with the utmoſt rigour. This opinion was adopted by the reſt till it came to Cæſar. This eloquent man, conſiſtent with whoſe ambitious principles it was rather to encourage than to ſuppreſs any threatening innovations, urged, in his uſual perſuaſive manner, the propriety of allowing the accuſed the privilege of trial; and that the conſpirators ſhould only be taken into cuſtody. The ſenate, who were under apprehenſions from the people, thought it prudent to come into this meaſure; and even Silanus retracted, and declared he thought of nothing more than impriſonment, that being the moſt rigorous puniſhment a citizen of Rome could ſuffer.

This change of ſentiments in thoſe who ſpoke firſt, was followed by the reſt, who all gave into milder meaſures. But Cato, who was of a contrary opinion, defended that opinion with the greateſt vehemence, eloquence, and energy. He reproached Silanus for his puſillanimity in changing his reſolution. He attacked Cæſar, and charged him with a ſecret deſign of ſubverting the government, under the plauſible appearance of mitigating ſpeeches and a humane conduct; of intimidating the ſenate, by the ſame means, even in a caſe where he had to fear for himſelf, and wherein he might think himſelf happy if he could be exempted from every imputation and ſuſpicion of guilt.—He who had openly and daringly attempted to reſcue from juſtice the enemies of the ſtate; and ſhewn, that ſo far from having any compaſſion for his country, when on the brink of deſtruction, he could even pity and plead for the wretches, the unnatural wretches that meditated its ruin, and grieve that their puniſhment ſhould prevent their deſign. This, it is ſaid, is the only oration of Cato that is extant. Cicero had ſelected a number

number of the ſwifteſt writers, whom he had taught the art of abbreviating words by characters, and had placed them in different parts of the ſenate houſe. Before his conſulate, they had no ſhort hand writers. Cato carried his point; and it was decreed, agreeably to his opinion, that the conſpirators ſhould ſuffer capital puniſhment.

As it is our intention to exhibit an accurate picture of the mind and manners of Cato, the leaſt circumſtance that may contribute to mark them ſhould not eſcape our notice. While he was warmly conteſting his point with Cæſar, and the eyes of the whole ſenate were upon the diſputants, it is ſaid that a billet was brought in and delivered to Cæſar. Cato immediately ſuſpected, and charged him with ſome traitorous deſign; and it was moved in the ſenate, that the billet ſhould be read publicly. Cæſar delivered it to Cato, who ſtood near him; and the latter had no ſooner caſt his eye upon it than he perceived it to be the hand of his own ſiſter Servilia, who was paſſionately in love with Cæſar, by whom ſhe had been debauched. He, therefore, threw it back to Cæſar, ſaying, "take it, you ſot," and went on with his diſcourſe. Cato was always unfortunate amongſt the women. This Servilia was infamous for her commerce with Cæſar; and his other ſiſter, Servilia, was in ſtill worſe repute; for, though married to Lucullus, one of the firſt men in Rome, by whom alſo ſhe had a ſon, ſhe was divorced for her inſufferable irregularities. But what was moſt diſtreſsful to Cato, was, that the conduct of his own wife Attilia, was by no means unexceptionable; and that, after having brought him two children, he was obliged to part with her.

Upon his divorce from Attilia, he married Martia the daughter of Philip, a woman of good character; but this part of Cato's life, like the plots in the drama, is involved and intricate. Thraſeas, upon the authority of Munatius, Cato's particular friend, who

lived under the ſame roof with him, gives us this account of the matter. Amongſt the friends and followers of Cato, ſome made a more open profeſſion of their ſentiments than others. Amongſt theſe was Quintus Hortenſius, a man of great dignity and politeneſs. Not contented merely with the friendſhip of Cato, he was deſirous of a family alliance with him; and, for this purpoſe, he ſcrupled not to requeſt that his daughter Porcia, who was already married to Bibulus, by whom ſhe had two children, might be lent to him, as a fruitful ſoil for the purpoſe of propagation. The thing itſelf, he owned, was uncommon, but by no means unnatural or improper. For why ſhould a woman in the flower of her age, either continue uſeleſs, till ſhe is paſt childbearing, or overburthen her huſband with too large a family? The mutual uſe of women, he added, in virtuous families, would not only increaſe a virtuous offſpring, but ſtrengthen and extend the connections of ſociety. Moreover, if Bibulus ſhould be unwilling wholly to give up his wife, ſhe ſhould be reſtored after ſhe had done him the honour of an alliance to Cato by her pregnancy. Cato anſwered, that he had the greateſt regard for the friendſhip of Hortenſius, but could not think of his application for another man's wife. Hortenſius, however, would not give up the point here; but when he could not obtain Cato's daughter, he applied for his wife, ſaying, that ſhe was yet a young woman, and Cato's family already large enough. He could not poſſibly make this requeſt, upon a ſuppoſition that Cato had no regard for his wife; for ſhe was at that very time pregnant. Notwithſtanding, the latter, when he obſerved the violent inclination Hortenſius had to be allied to him, did not abſolutely refuſe him; but ſaid it was neceſſary to conſult Martia's father Philip on the occaſion. Philip, therefore, was applied to, and his daughter was eſpouſed to Hortenſius in the preſence and with the conſent of Cato. Theſe circum-

ſtances are not related in the proper order of time; but ſpeaking of Cato's connection with the women, I was led to mention them.

When the conſpirators were executed, and Cæſar, who, on account of his calumnies in the ſenate, was obliged to throw himſelf on the people, had infuſed a ſpirit of inſurrection into the worſt and loweſt of the citizens, Cato, being apprehenſive of the conſequences, engaged the ſenate to appeaſe the multitude by a free gift of corn. This coſt twelve hundred and fifty talents a year; but it had the deſired effect *.

Metellus, upon entering on his office as tribune, held ſeveral ſeditious meetings, and publiſhed an edict, that Pompey ſhould bring his troops into Italy, under the pretext of ſaving the city from the attempts of Cataline. Such was the pretence; but his real deſign was to give up the ſtate into the hands of Pompey.

Upon the meeting of the ſenate, Cato, inſtead of treating Metellus with his uſual aſperity, expoſtulated with great mildneſs, and had even recourſe to intreaty, intimating, at the ſame time, that his family had ever ſtood in the intereſt of the nobility. Metellus, who imputed Cato's mildneſs to his fears, was the more inſolent on that account, and moſt audaciouſly aſſerted that he would carry his purpoſe into execution, whether the ſenate would or not. The voice, the air, the attitude of Cato, were changed in a moment; and, with all the force of eloquence, he declared, "That while he was living, "Pompey ſhould never enter armed into the city." The ſenate neither approved of the conduct of Cato, nor of Metellus. The latter they conſidered as a

* This is almoſt one third more than the ſum ſaid to have been expended in the ſame diſtribution in the life of Cæſar; and even there it is incredibly large. But whatever might be the expence, the policy was bad; for nothing ſo effectually weakens the hands of government as this method of bribing the populace, and treating them as injudicious nurſes do froward children.

deſperate and profligate madman, who had no other aim than that of general deſtruction and confuſion. The virtue of Cato, they looked upon as a kind of enthuſiaſm, which would ever lead him to *arm* in the cauſe of juſtice and the laws.

When the people came to vote for the edict, a number of aliens, gladiators, and ſlaves, armed by Metellus, appeared in the *forum*. He was alſo followed by ſeveral of the commons, who wanted to introduce Pompey, in hopes of a revolution; and his hands were ſtrengthened by the prætorial power of Cæſar. Cato, on the other hand, had the principal citizens on his ſide; but they were rather ſharers in the injury than auxiliaries in the removal of it. The danger to which he was expoſed was now ſo great, that his family was under the utmoſt concern. The greateſt part of his friends and relations came to his houſe in the evening, and paſſed the night without either eating or ſleeping. His wife and ſiſters bewailed their misfortunes with tears, while he himſelf paſſed the evening with the utmoſt confidence and tranquility, encouraging the reſt to imitate his example. He ſupped and went to reſt as uſual; and ſlept ſoundly till he was waked by his colleague Minutius Thermus. He went to the *forum*, accompanied by few, but met by many, who adviſed him to take care of his perſon. When he ſaw the temple of Caſtor ſurrounded by armed men, the ſteps occupied by gladiators, and Metellus himſelf ſeated on an eminence with Cæſar, turning to his friends, "which," ſaid he, "is moſt contemptible, the "ſavage diſpoſition, or the cowardice of him who "brings ſuch an army againſt a man who is naked "and unarmed?" Upon this, he proceeded to the place with Thermus. Thoſe that occupied the ſteps fell back to make way for him, but would ſuffer no one elſe to paſs. Minutius only with ſome difficulty he drew along with him; and, as ſoon as he entered, he took his ſeat between Cæſar and Metellus, that he

he might, by that means, prevent their diſcourſe. This embarraſſed them not a little; and what added to their perplexity, was the countenance and approbation that Cato met with from all the honeſt men that were preſent, who, while they admired his firm and ſteady ſpirit, ſo ſtrongly marked in his aſpect, encouraged him to perſevere in the cauſe of liberty, and mutually agreed to ſupport him.

Metellus, enraged at this, propoſed to read the edict. Cato put in his negative; and that having no effect, he wreſted it out of his hand. Metellus then attempted to ſpeak it from memory; but Thermus prevented him by putting his hand upon his mouth. When he found this meffectual, and perceived that the people were gone over to the oppoſite party, he ordered his armed men to make a riot, and throw the whole into confuſion. Upon this the people diſperſed, and Cato was left alone, expoſed to a ſtorm of ſticks and ſtones. But Muræna, though the former had ſo lately laid an information againſt him, would not deſert him. He defended him with his gown from the danger to which he was expoſed; intreated the mob to deſiſt from their violence, and at length carried him off in his arms into the temple of Caſtor. When Metellus found the benches deſerted, and the adverſary put to the rout, he imagined he had gained his point, and again very modeſtly proceeded to confirm the edict. The adverſary, however, quickly rallied, and advanced with ſhouts of the greateſt courage and confidence. Metellus's party, ſuppoſing that, by ſome means, they had got arms, was thrown into confuſion, and immediately took to flight. Upon the diſperſion of theſe, Cato came forward, and, by his encouragement and applauſe, eſtabliſhed a conſiderable party againſt Metellus. The ſenate too voted that Cato ſhould, at all events, be ſupported; and that an edict, ſo pregnant with every thing that was pernicious to order and good government, and had even

a tendency to civil war, ſhould be oppoſed with the utmoſt vigour.

Metellus ſtill maintained his reſolution; but finding his friends intimidated by the unconquered ſpirit of Cato, he came ſuddenly into the open court, aſſembled the people, ſaid every thing that he thought might render Cato odious to them; and declared, that he would have nothing to do with the arbitrary principles of that man, or his conſpiracy againſt Pompey, whoſe diſgrace Rome might one day have ſevere occaſion to repent.

Upon this he immediately ſet off for Aſia to carry an account of theſe matters to Pompey. And Cato, by ridding the commonwealth of this troubleſome tribune, and cruſhing, as it were, in him, the growing power of Pompey, obtained the higheſt reputation. But what made him ſtill more popular, was his prevailing on the ſenate to deſiſt from their purpoſe of voting Metellus infamous, and diveſting him of the magiſtracy. His humanity and moderation in not inſulting a vanquiſhed enemy, were admired by the people in general; whilſt men of political ſagacity could ſee that he thought it prudent not to provoke Pompey too much.

Soon afterwards, Lucullus returned from the war, which being concluded by Pompey, gave that general, in ſome meaſure, the laurels; and being rendered obnoxious to the people, through the impeachments of Caius Memmius, who oppoſed him more from a view of making his court to Pompey than any perſonal hatred, he was in danger of loſing his triumphs. Cato, however, partly becauſe Lucullus was allied to him by marrying his daughter Servilia, and partly becauſe he thought the proceedings unfair, oppoſed Memmius, and by that means expoſed himſelf to great obloquy. But though diveſted of his tribunitial office, as of a tyrannical authority, he had ſtill credit enough to baniſh Memmius from the courts, and from the liſts. Lucullus, therefore, having obtained

tained his triumph, attached himſelf to Cato, as to the ſtrongeſt bulwark againſt the power of Pompey. When this great man returned from the war, confident of his intereſt at Rome, from the magnificent reception he every where met with, he ſcrupled not to ſend a requiſition to the ſenate, that they would defer the election of conſuls till his arrival, that he might ſupport Piſo. Whilſt they were in doubt about the matter, Cato, not becauſe he was under any concern about deferring the election, but that he might intercept the hopes and attempts of Pompey, remonſtrated againſt the meaſure, and carried it in the negative. Pompey was not a little diſturbed at this; and concluding, that, if Cato were his enemy, he would be the greateſt obſtacle to his deſigns, he ſent for his friend Munatius, and commiſſioned him to demand two of Cato's nieces in marriage; the elder for himſelf, and the younger for his ſon. Some ſay that they were not Cato's nieces, but his daughters. Be that as it may; when Munatius opened his commiſſion to Cato, in the preſence of his wife and ſiſters, the women were not a little delighted with the ſplendour of the alliance. But Cato, without a moment's heſitation, anſwered, "Go, "Munatius, go, and tell Pompey, that Cato is not "to be caught in a female ſnare. Tell him, at the "ſame time, that I am ſenſible of the honour he "does me; and whilſt he continues to act as he "ought to do, I ſhall have that friendſhip for him "which is ſuperior to affinity; but I will never give "hoſtages, againſt my country, to the glory of Pom-"pey." The women, as it is natural to ſuppoſe, were chagrined? and even the friends of Cato blamed the ſeverity of his anſwer. But Pompey ſoon after gave him an opportunity of vindicating his conduct, by open bribery in a conſular election. "You "ſee now," ſaid Cato to the women, "what would "have been the conſequence of my alliance with "Pompey. I ſhould have had my ſhare in all the

"aſperſions

"aſperſions that are thrown upon him." And they owned that he had acted right. However, if one ought to judge from the event, it is clear that Cato did wrong in rejecting the alliance of Pompey. By ſuffering it to devolve to Cæſar, the united power of thoſe two great men went near to overturn the Roman empire. The commonwealth it effectually deſtroyed. But this would never have been the caſe, had not Cato, to whom the ſlighter faults of Pompey were obnoxious, ſuffered him, by thus ſtrengthening his hands, to commit greater crimes. Theſe conſequences, however, were only impending at the period under our review. When Lucullus had a diſpute with Pompey concerning their inſtitutions in Pontus, (for each wanted to confirm his own, as the former was evidently injured) he had the ſupport of Cato; while Pompey, his junior in the ſenate, in order to increaſe his popularity, propoſed the Agrarian law in favour of the army. Cato oppoſed it, and it was rejected; in conſequence of which Pompey attached himſelf to Clodius, the moſt violent and factious of the tribunes; and much about the ſame time contracted his alliance with Cæſar, to which Cato, in ſome meaſure, led the way. The thing was thus. Cæſar, on his return from Spain, was at once a candidate for the conſulſhip, and demanded a triumph. But as the laws of Rome required that thoſe who ſue for the ſupreme magiſtracy, ſhould ſue in perſon; and thoſe who triumph ſhould be without the walls, he petitioned the ſenate that he might be allowed to ſue for the conſulſhip by proxy. The ſenate in general agreed to oblige Cæſar; and when Cato, the only one that oppoſed it, found this to be the caſe, as ſoon as it came to his turn, he ſpoke the whole day long, and thus prevented the doing of any buſineſs. Cæſar, therefore, gave up the affair of the triumph, entered the city, and applied at once for the conſulſhip and the intereſt of Pompey. As ſoon as he was appointed conſul, he married Julia; and as they had

both

both entered into a league againſt the commonwealth, one propoſed the laws for the diſtribution of lands amongſt the poor, and the other ſeconded the propoſal. Lucullus and Cicero, in conjunction with Bibulus the other conſul, oppoſed it. But Cato, in particular, who ſuſpected the pernicious conſequences of Cæſar's connection with Pompey, was ſtrenuous againſt the motion; and ſaid, it was not the diſtribution of lands that he feared ſo much as the rewards which the cajolers of the people might expect for their favours.

In this not only the ſenate agreed with him, but many of the people too, who were reaſonably offended by the unconſtitutional conduct of Cæſar. For whatever the moſt violent and the maddeſt of the tribunes propoſed for the pleaſure of the mob, Cæſar, to pay an abject court to them, ratified by the conſular authority. When he found his motion, therefore, likely to be over-ruled, his party had recourſe to violence, pelted Bibulus the conſul with dirt, and broke the rods of his *lictors*. At length, when darts begun to be thrown, and many were wounded, the reſt of the ſenate fled as faſt as poſſible out of the *forum*. Cato was the laſt that left it; and, as he walked ſlowly along, he frequently looked back, and execrated the wickedneſs and madneſs of the people. The Agrarian law, therefore, was not only paſſed, but they obliged the whole ſenate to take an oath, that they would confirm and ſupport it; and thoſe that ſhould refuſe were ſentenced to pay a heavy fine. Neceſſity brought moſt of them into the meaſure; for they remembered the example of Metellus *, who was baniſhed for refuſing to comply, in a ſimilar inſtance, with the people. Cato was ſolicited by the tears of the female part of his family, and the intreaties of his friends, to yield and take the oath. But what principally induced him, was the remonſtrances and expoſtulations of Cicero; who re-

* Metellus Numidicus.

repreſented to him that there might not be ſo much virtue, as he imagined, in one man's diſſenting from a decree that was eſtabliſhed by the reſt of the ſenate; that to expoſe himſelf to certain danger, without even the poſſibility of producing any good effect, was perfect inſanity; and, what was ſtill worſe, to leave the commonwealth, for which he had undergone ſo many toils, to the mercy of innovators and uſurpers, would look as if he were weary, at leaſt, of his patriotic labours. Cato, he added, might do without Rome; but Rome could not do without Cato; his friends could not do without him; himſelf could not diſpenſe with his aſſiſtance and ſupport, while the audacious Clodius, by means of his tribunitial authority, was forming the moſt dangerous machinations againſt him. By theſe, and the like remonſtrances, ſolicited at home, and in the *forum*, Cato, it is ſaid, was, with difficulty, prevailed on to take the oath; and that, his friend Favonius excepted, he was the laſt that took it.

Elated with this ſucceſs, Cæſar propoſed another act for diſtributing almoſt the whole province of Campania amongſt the poor. Cato alone oppoſed it. And though Cæſar dragged him from the bench, and conveyed him to priſon, he omitted not, nevertheleſs, to ſpeak as he paſſed, in defence of liberty, to enlarge upon the conſequences of the act, and to exhort the citizens to put a ſtop to ſuch proceedings. The ſenate, with heavy hearts, followed Cato, and all the virtuous part of the people, with ſilent indignation. Cæſar was not inattentive to the public diſcontent that this proceeding occaſioned; but ambitiouſly expecting ſome conceſſions on the part of Cato, he proceeded to conduct him to priſon. At length, however, when he found theſe expectations vain, unable any longer to ſupport the ſhame to which this conduct expoſed him, he inſtructed one of the tribunes to reſcue him from his officers.

officers. The people, notwithſtanding, brought into his intereſt by theſe public diſtributions, voted him the province of Illyricum and all Gaul, together with four legions, for the ſpace of five years; though Cato fore-told them, at the ſame time, that they were voting a tyrant into the citadel of Rome. They moreover created Clodius, contrary to the laws (for he was of the patrician order) a tribune of the people; becauſe they knew he would, in every reſpect, accede to their wiſhes with regard to the baniſhment of Cicero. Calpurnius Piſo, the father of Cæſar's wife, and Aulus Gabinius*, a boſom friend of Pompey's, as we are told by thoſe who knew him beſt, they created conſuls.

Yet, though they had every thing in their hands, and had gained one part of the people by favour and the other by fear, ſtill they were afraid of Cato. They remembered the pains it coſt them to overbear him, and that the violent and compulſive meaſures they had recourſe to did them but little honour. Clodius, too, ſaw that he could not diſtreſs Cicero, while ſupported by Cato: yet this was his great object; and, upon his entering on his tribunitial office, he had an interview with Cato: when, after paying him the compliment of being the honeſteſt man in Rome, he propoſed to him, as a teſtimony of his ſincerity, the government of Cyprus, an appointment which, he ſaid, had been ſollicited by many. Cato anſwered that, far from being a favour, it was a treacherous ſcheme and a diſgrace: upon which, Clodius fiercely replied, "If it is not your pleaſure "to go, it is mine that you ſhall go." And, ſaying this, he went immediately to the ſenate, and procured a decree for Cato's expedition. Yet he neither ſupplied him with a veſſel, a ſoldier, or a ſervant, two ſecretaries excepted, one of whom was

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* Plutarch does not mean to repreſent this friendſhip in any favourable light. The character of Gabinius was deſpicable in every reſpect, as appears from Cicero's oration for Sextius.

a notorious thief, and the other a client of his own. Beſides, as if the charge of Cyprus and the oppoſition of Ptolemy were not a ſufficient taſk for him, he ordered him likewiſe to reſtore the Byzantine exiles. But his view in all this was to keep Cato, as long as poſſible, out of Rome.

Cato, thus obliged to go, exhorted Cicero, who was at the ſame time cloſely hunted by Clodius, by no means to involve his country in a civil war, but to yield to the neceſſity of the times.

By means of his friend Canidius, whom he ſent before him to Cyprus, he negotiated with Ptolemy in ſuch a manner, that he yielded without coming to blows; for Cato gave him to underſtand, that he ſhould not live in a poor or abject condition, but that he ſhould be appointed high prieſt to the Paphian Venus *. While this was negotiating, Cato ſtopped at Rhodes, at once waiting for Ptolemy's anſwer, and making preparations for the reduction of the iſland.

In the mean time, Ptolemy king of Egypt, who had left Alexandria, upon ſome quarrel with his ſubjects, was on his way to Rome, in order to ſollicit his reeſtabliſhment from Cæſar and Pompey, by means of the Roman arms. Being informed that Cato was at Rhodes, he ſent to him, in hopes that he would wait upon him. When his meſſenger arrived, Cato, who then happened to have taken phyſic, told him that if Ptolemy wanted to ſee him, he might come himſelf. When he came, Cato neither went forward

* This appointment ſeems to be but a poor exchange for a kingdom; but when it is remembered that, in the pagan theology, the prieſts of the gods were not inferior in dignity to princes, and that moſt of them were of royal families;—when it is conſidered in what high reputation the Paphian Venus ſtood amongſt the ancients, and what a lucrative as well as honourable office that of her prieſt muſt have been, occaſioned by the offerings of the prodigious concourſe of people who came annually to pay their devotions at her temple, it will be thought that Ptolemy made no bad bargain for his little iſland.

ward to meet him, nor did he ſo much as riſe from his ſeat; but ſaluted him as he would a common perſon, and carleſsly bade him ſit down. Ptolemy was ſomewhat hurt by it at firſt, and ſurpriſed to meet with ſuch a ſupercilious ſeverity of manners in a man of Cato's mean dreſs and appearance. However, when he entered into converſation with him concerning his affairs, when he heard his free and nervous eloquence, he was eaſily reconciled to him. Cato, it ſeems, blamed his impolitic application to Rome: repreſented to him the happineſs he had left, and that he was about to expoſe himſelf to toils, the plagues of attendance, and what was ſtill worſe, to the avarice of the Roman chiefs, which the whole kingdom of Egypt converted into money could not ſatisfy. He adviſed him to return with his fleet, and be reconciled to his people, offering him at the ſame time his attendance and mediation; and Ptolemy, reſtored by his repreſentations, as it were, from inſanity to reaſon, admired the diſcretion and ſincerity of Cato, and determined to follow his advice. His friends, nevertheleſs, brought him back to his former meaſures; but he was no ſooner at the door of one of the magiſtrates of Rome, than he repented of his folly, and blamed himſelf for rejecting the virtuous counſels of Cato, as for diſobeying the oracle of a god.

Ptolemy of Cyprus, as Cato's good ſtars would have it, took himſelf off by poiſon. As he was ſaid to have left a full treaſury, Cato, being determined to go himſelf to Byzantium, ſent his nephew Brutus to Cyprus, becauſe he had not ſufficient confidence in Canidius: when the exiles were reconciled to the reſt of the citizens, and all things quiet in Byzantium, he proceeded to Cyprus. Here he found the royal furniture very magnificent in the articles of veſſels, tables, jewels, and purple, all which were to be converted into ready money. In the management of this affair he was very exact, attended at the ſales, took

the accounts himſelf, and brought every article to the beſt market. Nor would he truſt to the common cuſtoms of ſale factors, auctioneers, bidders, or even his own friends; but had private conferences with the purchaſers, in which he urged them to bid higher, ſo that every thing went off at the greateſt rate. By this means he gave offence to many of his friends, and almoſt implacably affronted his particular friend Munatius. Cæſar too in his oration againſt him, availed himſelf of this circumſtance, and treated him very ſeverely. Munatius, however, tells us that this miſunderſtanding was not ſo much occaſioned by Cato's diſtruſt, as by his neglect of him, and by his own jealouſy of Canidius: for Munatius wrote memoirs of Cato, which Thraſeas has chiefly followed. He tells us that he was amongſt the laſt that arrived at Cyprus, and by that means found nothing but the refuſe of the lodgings; that he went to Cato's apartments and was refuſed admittance, becauſe Cato was privately concerting ſomething with Canidius; and that when he modeſtly complained of this conduct, he received a ſevere anſwer from Cato; who obſerved, with Theophraſtus, that too much love was frequently the occaſion of hatred; and that he, becauſe of the ſtrength of his attachment to him, was angry at the ſlighteſt inattention. He told him at the ſame time that he made uſe of Canidius as a neceſſary agent, and becauſe he had more confidence in him than in the reſt, having found him honeſt, though he had been there from the firſt, and had opportunities of being otherwiſe. This converſation, which he had in private with Cato, the latter, he informs us, related to Canidius; and when this came to his knowledge, he would neither attend at Cato's entertainments, nor, though called upon, aſſiſt at his councils. Cato threatening to puniſh him for diſobedience, and, as is uſual, to take a pledge from him;

him*; Munatius paid no regard to it, but ſailed for Rome, and long retained his reſentment. Upon Cato's return, by means of Marcia, who at that time lived with her huſband, he and Munatius were both invited to ſup with Barca. Cato, who came in after the reſt of the company had taken their places, aſked where he ſhould take his place. Barca anſwered, where he pleaſed. Then, ſaid he, I will take my place by Munatius. He, therefore, took his place next him, but he ſhewed him no other marks of friendſhip during ſupper: afterwards, however, at the requeſt of Marcia, Cato wrote to him that he ſhould be glad to ſee him. He therefore waited on him at his own houſe, and being entertained by Marcia till the reſt of the morning viſiters were gone, Cato came in and embraced him with great kindneſs. We have dwelt upon theſe little circumſtances the longer, as, in our opinion, they contribute no leſs than more public and important actions, towards the clear delineation of manners and characters. Cato in his expedition had acquired near ſeven thouſand talents of ſilver, and, being under ſome apprehenſions on account of the length of his voyage, he provided a number of veſſels that would hold two talents and five hundred drachmas a piece. To each of theſe he tied a long cord, at the end of which was faſtened a large piece of cork, ſo that if any misfortune ſhould happen to the ſhip that contained them, theſe buoys might mark the ſpot where they lay. The whole treaſure, however, except a very little, was conveyed with ſafety. Yet his two books of accounts, which he kept very accurate, were both loſt; one by ſhipwreck with his freedman Philargyrus, and the other by fire at Corcyra; for the ſailors, on account of the coldneſs of the weather, kept fires in

* When a magiſtrate refuſed a ſummons to the ſenate or public council, the penalty was to take ſome piece of furniture out of his houſe, and to keep it till he ſhould attend. This they called *pignora capere*.

the tents by night, and thus the misfortune happened. This troubled Cato, though Ptolemy's ſervants, whom he had brought over with him, were ſufficient vouchers for his conduct againſt enemies and informers. For he did not intend theſe accounts merely as a proof of his honeſty, but to recommend the ſame kind of accuracy and induſtry to others.

As ſoon his arrival with the fleet was notified in Rome, the magiſtrates, the prieſts, the whole ſenate, and multitudes of the people, went down to the river to meet him, and covered both its banks, ſo that his reception was ſomething like a triumph. Yet there was an ill-timed haughtineſs in his conduct; for, though the conſuls and prætors came to wait upon him, he did not ſo much as attempt to make the ſhore where they were, but rowed careleſly along in a royal ſix-oared galley, and did not land till he came into port with his whole fleet. The people, however, were ſtruck with admiration at the vaſt quantity of money that was carried along the ſtreets, and the ſenate, in full aſſembly, beſtowed the higheſt encomiums on him, and voted him a prætorſhip extraordinary *, and the right of attending at the public ſhews in a *prætexta*, or purple-bordered gown. But theſe honours he thought proper to decline. At the ſame time he petitioned that they would grant his freedom to Nicias, an officer of Ptolemy's, in favour of whoſe diligence and fidelity he gave his own teſtimony. Philip, the father of Marcia, was conſul at that time, and his colleague reſpected Cato no leſs for his virtue, than Philip might for his alliance, ſo that he had in ſome meaſure the whole conſular intereſt in his hands. When Cicero returned from that exile to which he had been ſentenced by Clodius, his influence was conſiderable, and he ſcrupled not, in the abſence of Clodius, to pull

* Cato was then but thirty-eight years of age, and conſequently too young to be prætor in the ordinary way, in which a perſon could not enter on that office till he was forty.

pull down and deſtroy the tribunitial edicts, which the latter had put up in the capitol. Upon this the ſenate was aſſembled, and Cicero, upon the accuſation of Clodius, made his defence by alleging that Clodius had not been legally appointed tribune, and that, of courſe, every act of his office was null and void. Cato interrupted him, and ſaid, that he was indeed ſenſible that the whole adminiſtration of Clodius had been wicked and abſurd; but that if every act of his office were to be annulled, all that he had done in Cyprus would ſtand for nothing, becauſe his commiſſion iſſuing from a tribune not legally appointed, could not be valid: that Clodius, though he was of a patrician family, had not been choſen tribune, contrary to law, becauſe he had previouſly been enrolled in the order of plebeians by an act paſſed for that purpoſe: but that, if he had acted unjuſtly in his office, he was liable to perſonal impeachments, while at the ſame time the office itſelf retained its proper force and authority. This occaſioned a quarrel for ſome time between Cicero and Cato, but afterwards they were reconciled.

Cæſar, upon his return out of Gaul, was met by Pompey and Craſſus, and it was agreed that the two laſt ſhould again ſtand for the conſulſhip, that Cæſar ſhould retain his government five years longer, and that the beſt provinces, revenues, and troops, ſhould be ſecured to themſelves. This was nothing leſs than a diviſion of empire, and a plot againſt the liberties of the commonwealth. This dangerous junction deterred many men of diſtinguiſhed rank and integrity from their deſign of offering themſelves candidates for the conſulſhip. Cato, however, prevailed on Lucius Domitius, who married his ſiſter, not to give up the point, nor to reſign his pretenſions; for that the conteſt was not then for the conſulſhip, but for the liberties of Rome. The ſober part of the citizens agreed too that the conſular power ſhould not be ſuffered to grow ſo enormous by the union of

Craſſus and Pompey; but that, at all events, they were to be ſeparated, and Domitius encouraged and ſupported in the competition. They aſſured him at the ſame time that he would have the voices of many of the people who were at preſent only ſilent through fear. Pompey's party, apprehenſive of this, lay in wait for Domitius, as he went before day by torch-light into the *campus martius*. The torch-bearer was killed at the firſt ſtroke; the reſt were wounded and fled; Cato and Domitius alone excepted; for Cato, though he had received a wound in the arm, ſtill kept Domitius on the ſpot, and conjured him not to deſert the cauſe of liberty while he had life, but to oppoſe to the utmoſt thoſe enemies of their country, who ſhewed what uſe they intended to make of that power, which they ſought by ſuch execrable means.

Domitius, however, unable to ſtand the ſhock, retired, and Pompey and Craſſus were elected conſuls. Yet Cato gave up nothing for loſt, but ſolicited a prætorſhip for himſelf, that he might from thence, as from a kind of fort, militate againſt the conſuls, and not contend with them in the capacity of a private citizen. The conſuls, apprehenſive that the prætorial power of Cato would not be inferior even to the conſular authority, ſuddenly aſſembled a ſmall ſenate, and obtained a decree, that thoſe who were elected prætors ſhould immediately enter upon their office* without waiting the uſual time to ſtand the charge, if any ſuch charge ſhould be brought againſt them, of bribery and corruption. By this means they brought in their own creatures and dependants, preſided at the election, and gave money to the populace. Yet ſtill the virtue of Cato could not totally loſe its weight. There were ſtill thoſe who had honeſty enough to be aſhamed of ſelling his

* There was always a time allotted between nomination and poſſeſſion; that if any undue means had been made uſe of in the canvaſs they might be diſcovered.

his intereſt, and wiſdom enough to think that it would be of ſervice to the ſtate to elect him even at the public expence. He therefore was nominated prætor by the votes of the firſt-called tribe; but Pompey ſcandalouſly pretending that he heard it thunder, broke up the aſſembly; for it is not uſual for the Romans to do any buſineſs if it thunders. Afterwards, by means of bribery, and by the excluſion of the virtuous part of the citizens from the aſſembly, they procured Vatinius to be returned prætor inſtead of Cato. Thoſe electors, it is ſaid, who voted from ſuch iniquitous motives, like ſo many culprits, immediately ran away. To the reſt that aſſembled and expreſſed their indignation, Cato was empowered by one of the tribunes to addreſs himſelf in a ſpeech; in the courſe of which he foretold, as if inſpired by ſome divine influence, all thoſe evils that then threatened the commonwealth; and ſtirred up the people againſt Pompey and Craſſus, who, in the conſciouſneſs of their guilty intentions, feared the controul of the prætorial power of Cato. In his return home he was followed by a greater multitude than all that had been appointed prætors united.

When Caius Trebonius moved for the diſtribution of the conſular provinces, and propoſed giving Spain and Africa to one of the conſuls, and Syria and Egypt to the other, together with fleets and armies, and an unlimited power of making war, and extending dominion, the reſt of the ſenate, thinking oppoſition vain, forebore to ſpeak againſt the motion. Cato, however, before it was put to the vote, aſcended the roſtrum in order to ſpeak, but he was limited to the ſpace of two hours; and when he had ſpent this time in repetitions, inſtructions, and predictions, and was proceeding in his diſcourſe, the lictor took him down from the roſtrum. Yet ſtill, when below amongſt the people, he perſiſted to ſpeak in behalf of liberty; and the people readily attended

to him, and joined in his indignation, 'till the conſul's beadle again laid hold of him and turned him out of the forum. He attempted, notwithſtanding, to return to his place, and excited the people to aſſiſt him; which being done more than once, Trebonius, in a violent rage, ordered him to priſon. Thither he was followed by the populace, to whom he addreſſed himſelf as he went, till, at laſt, Trebonius, through fear, diſmiſſed him. Thus Cato reſcued that day. But afterwards, the people being partly over-awed, and partly corrupted, the conſular party prevented Aequilius, one of the tribunes, by force of arms from coming out of the ſenate-houſe into the aſſembly, wounded many, killed ſome, and thruſt Cato, who ſaid, it thundered, out of the forum; ſo that the law was paſſed by compulſion. This rendered Pompey ſo obnoxious that the people were going to pull down his ſtatues, but were prevented by Cato. Afterwards, when the law was propoſed for the allotment of Cæſar's provinces, Cato addreſſing himſelf particularly to Pompey, told him, with great confidence, he did not then conſider that he was taking Cæſar upon his ſhoulders; but when he began to find his weight, and could neither ſupport it, nor ſhake him off, they would both fall together, and cruſh the commonwealth in their fall: and then he would find too late that the counſels of Cato were no leſs ſalutary for himſelf, than intrinſically juſt. Yet Pompey, though he often heard theſe things, in the confidence of his fortune and his power, deſpiſed them, and feared no reverſe from the part of Cæſar.

Cato was the following year appointed prætor, but he can hardly be ſaid to have contributed ſo much to the dignity of that high office by the rectitude of his conduct as to have derogated from it by the meanneſs of his dreſs; for he would often go to the prætorial bench without his robe or his ſhoes, and ſit in judgment, even in capital caſes, on ſome of

the firſt perſonages in Rome. Some will have it that he paſſed ſentence, when he had drank after dinner; but that is not true. He was reſolved to extirpate that extreme corruption which then prevailed amongſt the people in elections of every kind: and, in order to effect this, he moved that a law ſhould be paſſed in the ſenate, for every candidate, though no information ſhould be laid, to declare upon oath in what manner he obtained his election. This gave offence to the candidates, and to the more mercenary part of the people. So that, as Cato was going in the morning to the tribunal, he was ſo much inſulted and pelted with ſtones by the mob, that the whole court fled, and he with difficulty eſcaped into the roſtrum. There he ſtood, and his firm and ſteady aſpect ſoon huſhed the clamours and diſorder of the populace; ſo that when he ſpoke upon the ſubject, he was heard with a general ſilence *. The ſenate publicly teſtified their approbation of his conduct; but he anſwered, that no compliment could be paid to them at leaſt for deſerting the prætor, and declining to aſſiſt him when in manifeſt danger. This meaſure diſtreſſed the candidates conſiderably: for, on the one hand, they were afraid of giving bribes, and, on the other, they were apprehenſive of loſing their election, if it ſhould be done by their opponents. They thought it beſt, therefore, jointly to depoſit five hundred ſeſtertia each †, then to canvaſs

* This circumſtance in Cato's life affords a good comment on the following paſſage in Virgil, and at the ſame time the laboured dignity and weight of that verſe

—Pietate gravem et meritis ſi forte virum quem

conveys a very ſtrong and juſt idea of Cato.

Ac veluti magno in populo cum ſæpe coorta eſt
Seditio, ſævitque animis ignobile vulgus;
Jamque faces et ſaxa volant; furor arma miniſtrat,
Tum, pietate gravem et meritis ſi forte virum quem
Conſpexere, ſilent, arrectiſque auribus adſtant.
Ille regit dictis animos, et pectora mulcet. VIRG. Æn. 1.

† Cicero ſpeaks of this agreement in one of his epiſtles to Atticus.

canvaſs in a fair and legal manner, and if any one ſhould be convicted of bribery he ſhould forfeit his depoſit. Cato was appointed guarantee of this agreement, and the money was to be lodged in his hand, but for this he accepted of ſureties. When the day of election came, Cato ſtood next to the tribune who preſided, and, as he examined the votes, one of the depoſiting candidates appeared to have made uſe of ſome fraud. He therefore ordered him to pay the money to the reſt. But, after complimenting the integrity of Cato, they remitted the fine, and ſaid that the guilt was a ſufficient puniſhment. Cato, however, rendered himſelf obnoxious to many by this conduct, who ſeemed diſpleaſed that he affected both the legiſlative and judicial powers. Indeed, there is hardly any authority ſo much expoſed to envy as the latter, and hardly any virtue ſo obnoxious as that of juſtice, owing to the popular weight and influence that it always carries along with it. For though he who adminiſters juſtice in a virtuous manner may not be reſpected as a man of valour, nor admired as a man of parts; yet his integrity is always productive of love and confidence. Valour produces fear, and parts create ſuſpicion: they are diſtinctions, moreover, which are rather given then acquired. One ariſes from a natural acuteneſs, the other from a natural firmneſs of mind. However, as juſtice is a virtue ſo eaſily practicable and attainable, the oppoſite vice is proportionably odious.

Thus Cato became obnoxious to the chiefs of Rome in general. But Pompey in particular, whoſe glory was to riſe out of the ruins of his power, laboured, with unwearied aſſiduity, to procure impeachments againſt him. The incendiary Clodius, who had again entered the liſts of Pompey, accuſed Cato of embezzling a quantity of the Cyprian treaſure, and of raiſing an oppoſition to Pompey, becauſe the latter had refuſed to accept of his daughter in

in marriage. Cato, on the other hand, maintained, that though he was not ſo much as ſupplied with a horſe, or a ſoldier, by the government, yet he had brought more treaſure to the commonwealth from Cyprus, than Pompey had done from ſo many wars and triumphs over the harraſſed world. He aſſerted, that he never even wiſhed for the alliance of Pompey, not becauſe he thought him unworthy, but becauſe of the difference of their political principles. "For my own part," ſaid he, "I rejected the province offered me as an appendage to my prætorſhip; but for Pompey, he arrogated ſome provinces to himſelf, and ſome he beſtowed on his friends. Nay he has now, without even ſoliciting your conſent, accommodated Cæſar in Gaul with ſix thouſand ſoldiers. Such forces, armaments, and horſes, are now, it ſeems, at the diſpoſal of private men: and Pompey retains the title of commander and general, while he delegates to others the legions and the provinces; and continues within the walls to preſide at elections, the arbiter of the mob, and the fabricator of ſedition. From this conduct his principles are obvious. He holds it but one ſtep from anarchy to abſolute power *." Thus Cato maintained his party againſt Pompey.

Marcus Favonius was the intimate friend and imitator of Cato, as Apollodorus Phalereus † is ſaid to have been of Socrates, who was tranſported with his diſcourſes even to madneſs or intoxication. This Favonius ſtood for the office of ædile, and apparently loſt it; but Cato, upon examining the votes, and finding

* This maxim has been verified in almoſt every ſtate. When ambitious men aimed at abſolute power, their firſt meaſure was to impede the regular movements of the conſtitutional government by throwing all into confuſion, that they might aſcend to monarchy as Æneas went to the throne of Carthage, involved in a cloud.

† See Plato's Phædo, and the beginning of the *Sympoſium*. This Apollodorus was ſurnamed *Manicus* from his paſſionate enthuſiaſm,

finding them all to be written in the ſame hand, appealed againſt the fraud, and the tribunes ſet aſide the election. Favonius, therefore, was elected, and in the diſcharge of the ſeveral offices of his magiſtracy he had the aſſiſtance of Cato, particularly in the theatrical entertainments that were given to the people. In theſe Cato gave another ſpecimen of his œconomy, for he did not allow the players and muſicians crowns of gold, but of wild olive, ſuch as they uſe in the olympic games. Inſtead of expenſive preſents, he gave the Greeks beets and lettuces, and radiſhes and parſley; and the Romans he preſented with jugs of wine, pork, figs, cucumbers, and faggots of wood. Some rediculed the meanneſs of his preſents, while others were delighted with this relaxation from the uſual ſeverity of his manners. And Favonius, who appeared only as a common perſon amongſt the ſpectators, and had given up the management of the whole to Cato, declared the ſame to the people, and publicly applauded his conduct, exhorting him to reward merit of every kind. Curio, the colleague of Favonius, exhibited at the ſame time in the other theatre a very magnificent entertainment: but the people left him, and were much more entertained with ſeeing Favonius act the private citizen, and Cato maſter of the ceremonies. It is probable, however, that he took this upon him only to ſhew the folly of troubleſome and expenſive preparations in matters of mere amuſement, and that the benevolence and good humour ſuitable to ſuch occaſions would have a better effect.

When Scipio, Hypſæus, and Milo, were candidates for the conſulſhip, and, beſide the uſual infamous practices of bribery and corruption, had recourſe to violence and murder, and civil war, it was propoſed that Pompey ſhould be appointed protector of the election. But Cato oppoſed this, and ſaid that the laws ſhould not derive their ſecurity from Pompey,

Pompey, but that Pompey ſhould owe his to the laws.

However, when the conſular power had ben long ſuſpended, and the forum was in ſome meaſure beſieged by three armies, Cato, that things might not come to the worſt, recommended to the ſenate to confer that power on Pompey as a favour, with which his own influence would otherwiſe inveſt him, and by that means to make a leſs evil the remedy for a greater. Bibulus, therefore, an agent of Cato's, moved in the ſenate that Pompey ſhould be created ſole conſul; adding, that his adminiſtration would either be of the greateſt ſervice to the ſtate, or that, at leaſt, if the commonwealth muſt have a maſter, it would have the ſatisfaction of being under the auſpices of the greateſt man in Rome. Cato, contrary to every one's expectation, ſeconded the motion, intimating that any government was preferable to anarchy, and that Pompey promiſed fair for a conſtitutional adminiſtration, and for the preſervation of the city.

Pompey being thus elected conſul, invited Cato to his houſe in the ſuburbs. He received him with the greateſt careſſes and acknowledgments, and intreated him to aſſiſt in his adminiſtration, and to preſide at his councils. Cato anſwered, that he had neither formerly oppoſed Pompey out of private enmity, nor ſupported him of late out of perſonal favour; but that the welfare of the ſtate had been his motive in both: that, in private, he would aſſiſt him with his council whenever he ſhould be called upon; but that, in public, he ſhould ſpeak his ſentiments, whether they might be in his favour or not. And he did not fail to do as he had told him. For, ſoon after, when Pompey propoſed ſevere puniſhments and penalties againſt thoſe who had been guilty of bribery, Cato gave it as his opinion, that the paſt ſhould be overlooked, and the future only adverted to: for that, if he ſhould ſcrutinize into former

mer offences of that kind, it would be difficult to ſay where it would end; and ſhould he eſtabliſh penal laws, *ex poſt facto*, it would be hard that thoſe who were convicted of former offences ſhould ſuffer for the breach of thoſe laws which were then not in being. Afterwards, too, when impeachments were brought againſt ſeveral perſons of rank, and ſome of Pompey's friends among the reſt, Cato, when he obſerved that Pompey favoured the latter, reproved him with great freedom, and urged him to the diſcharge of his duty. Pompey had enacted, that encomiums ſhould no longer be ſpoken in favour of the priſoner at the bar; and yet, he gave in to the court a written encomium * on Munatius Plancus †, when he was upon his trial; but Cato, when he obſerved this, as he was one of the judges, ſtopped his ears, and forbade the apology to be read. Plancus, upon this, objected to Cato's being one of his judges; yet he was condemned notwithſtanding. Indeed, Cato gave the criminals in general no ſmall perplexity; for they were equally afraid of having him for their judge, and of objecting to him; as in the latter caſe it was generally underſtood that they were unwilling to rely on their innocence, and by the ſame means were condemned. Nay, to object to the judgment of Cato, became a common handle of accuſation and reproach.

Cæſar, at the ſame time that he was proſecuting the war in Gaul, was cultivating his intereſt in the city, by all that friendſhip or munificence could effect. Pompey ſaw this, and waked, as from a dream, to the warnings of Cato: yet he remained indolent; and Cato, who perceived the political neceſſity of oppoſing Cæſar, determined himſelf to ſtand

* Dion calls this an eulogium and a petition, ἔπαινον τε ἅμα καὶ [illegible] ἱκετείαν.

† Munatius Plancus, who in the Greek is miſtakenly called Flaccus, was then tribune of the people. He was accuſed by Cicero, and defended by Pompey, but unanimouſly condemned.

ſtand for the conſulſhip, that he might thereby oblige him either to lay down his arms, or diſcover his deſigns. Cato's competitors were both men of credit; but Sulpicius *, who was one of them, had himſelf derived great advantages from the authority of Cato. On this account, he was cenſured as ungrateful; though Cato was not offended; "for what wonder," ſaid he, "is it, that what a man eſteems "the greateſt happineſs, he ſhould not give up to "another?" He procured an act in the ſenate, that no candidate ſhould canvaſs by means of others. This exaſperated the people, becauſe it cut off at once the means of cultivating favour, and conveying bribes; and thereby rendered the lower order of citizens poor and inſignificant. It was in ſome meaſure owing to this act that he loſt the conſulſhip; for he conſulted his dignity too much to canvaſs in a popular manner himſelf; and his friends could not then do it for him.

A repulſe, in this caſe, is for ſome time attended with ſhame and ſorrow both to the candidate and his friends; but Cato was ſo little affected by it, that he anointed himſelf to play at ball, and walked as uſual after dinner with his friends in the *forum*, without his ſhoes or his tunic. Cicero, ſenſible how much Rome wanted ſuch a conſul, at once blamed his indolence, with regard to courting the people on this occaſion, and his inattention to future ſucceſs; whereas he had twice applied for the prætorſhip. Cato anſwered, that his ill ſucceſs in the latter caſe was not owing to the averſion of the people, but to the corrupt and compulſive meaſures uſed amongſt them; while in an application for the conſulſhip no ſuch meaſures could be uſed; and he was ſenſible, therefore, that the citizens were offended by thoſe manners which it did

* The competitors were M. Claudius Marcellus, and Servilius Sulpicius Rufus. The latter, according to Dion, was choſen for his knowledge of the laws, and the former for his eloquence.

did not become a wiſe man either to change for their ſakes, or by repeating his application, to expoſe himſelf to the ſame ill ſucceſs.

Cæſar had, at this time, obtained many dangerous victories over warlike nations; and had fallen upon the Germans, though at peace with the Romans, and ſlain three hundred thouſand of them. Many of the citizens, on this occaſion, voted a public thankſgiving; but Cato was of a different opinion, and ſaid, "That Cæſar ſhould be given up to "the nations he had injured, that his conduct might "not bring a curſe upon the city; yet the gods, he "ſaid, ought to be thanked, notwithſtanding, that "the ſoldiers had not ſuffered for the madneſs and "wickedneſs of their general, but that they had "in mercy ſpared the ſtate." Cæſar, upon this, ſent letters to the ſenate full of invectives againſt Cato. When they were read, Cato roſe with great calmneſs, and in a ſpeech, ſo regular that it ſeemed premeditated, ſaid, that, with regard to the letters, as they contained nothing but a little of Cæſar's buffoonery, they deſerved not to be anſwered: and then, laying open the whole plan of Cæſar's conduct, more like a friend, who knew his boſom counſels, than an enemy, he ſhewed the ſenate that it was not the * Britons or the Gauls they had to fear, but Cæſar himſelf. This alarmed them ſo much, that Cæſar's friends were ſorry they had produced the letters that occaſioned it. Nothing, however, was then reſolved upon: only it was debated concerning the propriety of appointing a ſucceſſor to Cæſar; and when Cæſar's friends required, that, in caſe thereof, Pompey too ſhould relinquiſh his army, and give up his provinces; "Now," cried Cato, "is com-"ing to paſs the event that I foretold †. It is ob-"vious,

* Amiot thinks we ought here to read Γερμανων, and not Βρεττανων.

† But was not this very impolitic in Cato? Was it not a vain ſacrifice to his ambition of prophecy? Cæſar could not long remain

"vious, that Cæſar will have recourſe to arms; and "that the power which he has obtained by deceiving "the people, he will make uſe of to enſlave 'em." However, Cato had but little influence out of the ſenate, for the people were bent on aggrandizing Cæſar; and even the ſenate, while convinced by the arguments of Cato, was afraid of the people.

When the news was brought that Cæſar had taken Ariminum, and was advancing with his army towards Rome, the people in general, and even Pompey, caſt their eyes upon Cato, as on the only perſon who had foreſeen the original deſigns of Cæſar." "Had ye, then," ſaid Cato, "attended to my coun-"ſels, you would neither now have feared the power "of one man, nor would it have been in one man "that you ſhould have placed your hopes." Pompey anſwered, that "Cato had, indeed, been a better "prophet, but that he had himſelf acted a more "friendly part." And Cato then adviſed the ſenate to put every thing into the hands of Pompey; "for "the authors of great evils," he ſaid, "knew beſt "how to remove them." As Pompey perceived that his forces were inſufficient, and even the few that he had by no means hearty in his cauſe, he thought proper to leave the city. Cato, being determined to follow him, ſent his younger ſon to Munatius, who was in the country of the Brutii, and took the eldeſt along with him. As his family, and

remain unacquainted with what had paſſed in the ſenate; and Cato's obſervation on this occaſion was not much more diſcreet than it would be to tell a madman, who had a flambeau in his hand, that he intended to burn a houſe. Cato, in our opinion, with all his virtue, contributed no leſs to the deſtruction of the commonwealth than Cæſar himſelf. Wherefore did he idly exaſperate that ambitious man, by objecting againſt a public thankſgiving for his victories? There was a prejudice in that part of Cato's conduct, which had but the ſhadow of virtue to ſupport it. Nay, it is more than probable, that it was out of ſpite to Cæſar, that Cato gave the whole conſular power to Pompey. It muſt be remembered that Cæſar had debauched Cato's ſiſter.

particularly his daughters, wanted a proper ſuperintendant, he took Marcia again, who was then a rich widow; for Hortenſius was dead, and had left her his whole eſtate. This circumſtance gave Cæſar occaſion to reproach Cato with his avarice; and to call him the mercenary huſband. "For why," ſaid he, "did he part with her, if he had occaſion for "her himſelf? And, if he had not occaſion for her, "why did he take her again? The reaſon is ob-"vious. It was the wealth of Hortenſius. He "lent the young man his wife, that he might make "her a rich widow." But in anſwer to this, one need only quote that paſſage of Euripides *,

Call Hercules a Coward!

For it would be equally abſurd to reproach Cato with covetouſneſs, as it would be to charge Hercules with want of courage. Whether the conduct of Cato was altogether unexceptionable in this affair is another queſtion. However, as ſoon as he had remarried Marcia, he gave her the charge of his family, and followed Pompey.

From that time, it is ſaid, that he neither cut his hair, nor ſhaved his beard, nor wore a garland; but was uniform in his dreſs, as in his anguiſh, for his country. On which ſide ſoever victory might for a while declare, he changed not on that account his habit. Being appointed to the government of Sicily, he paſſed over to Syracuſe; and finding that Aſinius Pollio was arrived at Meſſania with a detachment from the enemy, he ſent to him to demand the reaſon of his coming; but Pollio only anſwered his queſtion by another, and demanded of Cato to know the cauſe of thoſe revolutions. When he was informed that Pompey had evacuated Italy, and was encamped at Dyrrachium, how myſterious, ſaid he, are the ways of providence; when Pompey neither acted

* This paſſage is in the firſt act of the *Hercules furens*.

acted upon the principles of wiſdom, nor of juſtice, he was invincible; but now that he would ſave the liberties of his country, his good fortune ſeems to have forſaken him. Aſinius, he ſaid, he could eaſily drive out of Sicily; but as greater ſupplies were at hand, he was unwilling to involve the iſland in war. He therefore adviſed the Syracuſans to conſult their ſafety by joining the ſtronger party; and ſoon after ſet ſail. When he came to Pompey, his conſtant ſentiments were, that the war ſhould be procraſtinated in hopes of peace; for that, if they came to blows, which party ſoever might be ſucceſsful, the event would be deciſive againſt the liberties of the ſtate. He alſo prevailed on Pompey, and the council of war, that neither any city ſubject to the Romans ſhould be ſacked, nor any Roman killed, except in the field of battle. By this he gained great glory, and brought over many, by his humanity, to the intereſt of Pompey.

When he went into Aſia for the purpoſe of raiſing men and ſhips, he took with him his ſiſter Servilia, and a little boy that ſhe had by Lucullus; for ſince the death of her huſband, ſhe had lived with him; and this circumſtance of putting herſelf under the eye of Cato; and of following him through the ſevere diſcipline of camps, greatly recovered her reputation; yet Cæſar did not fail to cenſure Cato even on her account.

Though Pompey's officers in Aſia did not think that they had much need of Cato's aſſiſtance; yet he brought over the Rhodians to their intereſt; and there leaving his ſiſter Servilia and her ſon, he joined Pompey's forces, which were now on a reſpectable footing, both by ſea and land. It was on this occaſion that Pompey diſcovered his final views. At firſt, he intended to have given Cato the ſupreme naval command; and he had then no fewer than five hundred men of war, beſide an infinite number of open galleys and tenders. Reflecting, however, or

reminded by his friends, that Cato's great principle was on all occaſions to reſcue the commonwealth from the government of an individual; and that, if inveſted with ſo conſiderable a power himſelf, the moment Cæſar ſhould be vanquiſhed, he would oblige Pompey too to lay down his arms, and ſubmit to the laws; he changed his intentions, though he had already mentioned them to Cato, and gave the command of the fleet to Bibulus. The zeal of Cato, however, was not abated by this conduct. When they were on the eve of battle at Dyrrachium, Pompey himſelf addreſſed and encouraged the army, and ordered his officers to do the ſame. Their addreſſes, notwithſtanding, were coldly received. But when Cato roſe and ſpoke, upon the principles of philoſophy, concerning liberty, virtue, death, and glory; when, by his impaſſioned action, he ſhewed that he felt what he ſpoke; and that his eloquence took its glowing colours from his ſoul; when he concluded with an invocation to the gods, as witneſſes of their efforts for the preſervation of their country, the plaudits of the army rent the ſkies; and the generals marched on in full confidence of victory. They fought, and were victorious; though Cæſar's good genius availed him of the frigid caution and diffidence of Pompey, and rendered the victory incomplete. But theſe things have been mentioned in the life of Pompey. Amid the general joy that followed this ſucceſs, Cato alone mourned over his country, and bewailed that fatal and cruel ambition, which covered the field with the bodies of citizens fallen by the hands of each other. When Pompey, in purſuit of Cæſar, proceeded to Theſſaly, and left in Dyrrachium a large quantity of arms and treaſure, together with ſome friends and relations, he gave the whole in charge to Cato, with the command of fifteen cohorts only; for ſtill he was afraid of his republican principles. If he ſhould be vanquiſhed, indeed, he knew he would be faithful to him; but if he ſhould be

victor, he knew, at the ſame time, that he would not permit him to reap the reward of conqueſt in the ſweets of abſolute power. Cato, however, had the ſatisfaction of being attended by many illuſtrious perſons in Dyrrachium.

After the fatal overthrow at Pharſalia, Cato determined, in caſe of Pompey's death, to conduct the people under his charge to Italy, and then to retire into exile, far from the cognizance or the power of the tyrant; but if Pompey ſurvived, he was reſolved to keep his little forces together for him. With this deſign, he paſſed into Corcyra, where the fleet was ſtationed; and would there have reſigned his command to Cicero, becauſe he had been conſul and himſelf only prætor. But Cicero declined it, and ſet ſail for Italy. Pompey the younger reſented this defection; and was about to lay violent hands on Cicero and ſome others, but Cato prevented him by private expoſtulation; and thus ſaved the lives both of Cicero and the reſt.

Cato, upon a ſuppoſition that Pompey the Great would make his eſcape into Egypt or Libya, prepared to follow him, together with his little force, after having firſt given, to ſuch as choſe it, the liberty of ſtaying behind. As ſoon as he had reached the African coaſt, he met with Sextus, Pompey's younger ſon, who acquainted him with the death of his father. This greatly afflicted the little band; but as Pompey was no more, they unanimouſly reſolved to have no other leader than Cato. Cato, out of compaſſion to the honeſt men that had put their confidence in him, and becauſe he would not leave them deſtitute in a foreign country, took upon him the command. He firſt made for Cyrene, and was received by the people, though they had before ſhut their gates againſt Labienus. Here he underſtood that Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, was entertained by Juba; and that Appius Varus, to whom Pompey had given the government of Africa, had

joined them with his forces. Cato, therefore, reſolved to march to them by land, as it was now winter. He had got together a great many aſſes to carry water; and furniſhed himſelf alſo with cattle and other victualling proviſions, as well as with a number of carriages. He had likewiſe in his train ſome of the people called Pſylli *, who obviate the bad effects of the bite of ſerpents, by ſucking out the poiſon; and deprive the ſerpents themſelves of their ferocity by their charms. During a continued march for ſeven days, he was always foremoſt, though he made uſe of neither horſe nor chariot. Ever after the unfortunate battle of Pharſalia, he eat ſitting †, intending it as an additional token of mourning, that he never lay down except to ſleep.

By

* Theſe people were ſo called from their king Pſyllus, whoſe tomb was in the region of the Syrtes. Varro tells us, that to try the legitimacy of their children, they ſuffer them to be bitten by a venomous ſerpent; and if they ſurvive the wound, they conclude that they are not ſpurious. Crates Pergamenus ſays, there were a people of this kind at Paros on the Helleſpont, called Ophiogenes, whoſe touch alone was a cure for the bite of a ſerpent. Celſus obſerves, that the Pſylli ſuck out the poiſon from the wound, not by any ſuperior ſkill or quality, but becauſe they have courage enough to do it. Some writers have aſſerted that the Pſylli have an innate quality in their conſtitution that is poiſonous to ſerpents; and that the ſmell of it throws them into a profound ſleep. Pliny maintains, that every man has in himſelf a natural poiſon for ſerpents; and that thoſe creatures will ſhun the human ſaliva, as they would boiling water. The faſting ſaliva, in particular, if it comes within their mouths, kills them immediately. If, therefore, we may believe, that the human ſaliva is an antidote to the poiſon of a ſerpent, we ſhall have no occaſion to believe, at the ſame time, that the Pſylli were endowed with any peculiar qualities of this kind, but that their ſucceſs in theſe operations aroſe, as Celſus ſays, *Ex audacia uſu confirmatâ*. However, they made a conſiderable trade of it; and we are aſſured, that they have been known to import the African ſerpents into Italy, and other countries, to increaſe their gain. Pliny ſays, they brought ſcorpions into Sicily, but they would not live in that iſland.

† The conſul Varro did the ſame after the battle of *Cannæ*. It was a ceremony of mourning.

By the end of winter he reached the place of his deſignation in Lybia, with an army of near ten thouſand men. The affairs of Scipio and Varus were in a bad ſituation, by reaſon of the miſunderſtanding and diſtraction which prevailed between them, and which led them to pay their court with great ſervility to Juba, whoſe wealth and power rendered him intolerably arrogant. For when he firſt gave Cato audience, he took his place between Scipio and Cato. But Cato took up his chair, and removed it to the other ſide of Scipio; thus giving him the moſt honourable place, though he was his enemy, and had publiſhed a libel againſt him. Cato's adverſaries have not paid proper regard to his ſpirit on this occaſion, but they have been ready enough to blame him for putting Philoſtratus in the middle, when he was walking with him one day in Sicily, though he did it entirely out of regard to philoſophy. In this manner he humbled Juba, who had conſidered Scipio and Varus as little more than his lieutenants; and he took care alſo to reconcile them to each other.

The whole army then deſired him to take the command upon him; and Scipio and Varus readily offered to reſign it: but he ſaid, "He would not "tranſgreſs the laws, for the ſake of which he was "waging war with the man who trampled upon them; "nor, when he was only *propraetor*, take the com- "mand from a *proconſul*." For Scipio had been appointed proconſul; and his name inſpired the generality with hopes of ſucceſs, for they thought a Scipio could not be beaten in Africa.

Scipio being eſtabliſhed commander in chief, to gratify Juba, was inclined to put all the inhabitants of Utica to the ſword, and to raze the city, as a place engaged in the intereſt of Cæſar. But Cato would not ſuffer it: he inveighed loudly in council againſt that deſign, invoking heaven and earth to oppoſe it; and, with much difficulty, reſcued that people out of the hands of cruelty. After which,

partly on their application, and partly at the requeſt of Scipio, he agreed to take the command of the town, that it might neither willingly nor unwillingly fall into the hands of Cæſar. Indeed, it was a place very convenient and advantageous to thoſe who were maſters of it; and Cato added much to its ſtrength, as well as convenience. For he brought into it a vaſt quantity of bread-corn, repaired the walls, erected towers, and fortified it with ditches and ramparts. Then he diſarmed all the youth of Utica, and poſted them in the trenches under his eye; as for the reſt of the inhabitants, he kept them cloſe within the walls; but, at the ſame time, took great care that they ſhould ſuffer no injury of any kind from the Romans. And by the ſupply of arms, of money, and proviſions, which he ſent in great quantities to the camp, Utica came to be conſidered as the principal magazine.

The advice he had before given Pompey, he now gave to Scipio, "Not to riſque a battle with an able "and experienced warrior, but to take the advan- "tage of time, which moſt effectually blaſts the "growth of tyranny." Scipio, however, in his raſhneſs, deſpiſed theſe counſels, and once even ſcrupled not to reproach Cato with Cowardice; aſking him, "Whether he could not be ſatisfied with "ſitting ſtill himſelf within walls and bars, unleſs "he hindered others from taking bolder meaſures "upon occaſion." Cato wrote back, "That he "was ready to croſs over into Italy with the "horſe and foot which he had brought into Africa; "and, by bringing Cæſar upon himſelf, to draw "him from his deſign againſt Scipio." But Scipio only ridiculed the propoſal; and it was plain that Cato now repented his giving up to him the command, ſince he ſaw that Scipio would take no rational ſcheme for the conduct of the war; and that, if he ſhould, beyond all expectation, ſucceed, he would behave with no kind of moderation to the citizens.

tizens.—It was, therefore, Cato's judgment, and he often declared it to his friends, "That, by reaſon of "the incapacity and raſhneſs of the generals, he "could hope no good end of the war; and that, "even if victory ſhould declare for them, and Cæ-"ſar be deſtroyed, for his part, he would not ſtay "at Rome, but fly from the cruelty and inhumani-"ty of Scipio, who already threw out inſolent me-"naces againſt many of the Romans."

The thing came to paſs ſooner than he expected. About midnight a perſon arrived from the army, whence he had been three days in coming, with news that a great battle had been fought at Thapſus; that all was loſt; that Cæſar was maſter of both the camps; and that Scipio and Juba were fled with a few troops, which had eſcaped the general ſlaughter.

On the receipt of ſuch tidings, the people of Utica, as might be expected amidſt the apprehenſions of night and war, were in the utmoſt diſtraction, and could ſcarce keep themſelves within the walls. But Cato making his appearance among the citizens, who were running up and down the ſtreets with great confuſion and clamour, encouraged them in the beſt manner he could. To remove the violence of terror and aſtoniſhment, he told them the caſe might not be ſo bad as it was repreſented, the misfortune being poſſibly exaggerated by report; and thus he calmed the preſent tumult. As ſoon as it was light, he ſummoned to the temple of Jupiter, the three hundred, whom he made uſe of as a council. Theſe were Romans who trafficked there in merchandiſe and exchange of money; and to them he added all the ſenators, and their ſons. While they were aſſembling, he entered the houſe with great compoſure and firmneſs of look, as if nothing extraordinary had happened; and read a book which he had in his hand. This contained an account of the

the ſtores, the corn, the arms, and other implements of war, and the muſters.

When they were met, he opened the matter " with commending the three hundred, for the extraordinary alacrity and fidelity they had ſhewn in " ſerving the public cauſe with their purſes, their " perſons, and their counſels; and exhorting them " not to entertain different views, or to endeavour " to ſave themſelves by flight. For," continued he, " if you keep in a body; Cæſar will not hold you " in ſuch contempt, if you continue the war; and " you will be more likely to be ſpared, if you have " recourſe to ſubmiſſion. I deſire you will conſider " the point thoroughly, and what reſolution ſoever " you may take, I will not blame you. If you are " inclined to go with the ſtream of fortune, I ſhall " impute the change to the neceſſity of the times. " If you bear up againſt their threatening aſpect, " and continue to face danger in the cauſe of liberty, " I will be your fellow-ſoldier, as well as captain, " till our country has experienced the laſt iſſues of " her fate: Our country, which is not in Utica, or " Adrymettum, but Rome; and ſhe, in her vaſt " reſources, has often recovered herſelf from greater falls than this. Many reſources we certainly " have at preſent; and the principal is, that we have " to contend with a man whoſe occaſions oblige him " to attend to various objects. Spain is gone over " to young Pompey, and Rome, as yet unaccuſtomed to the yoke, is ready to ſpurn it from her, " and to riſe on any proſpect of change. Nor is " danger to be declined. In this you may take " your enemy for a pattern, who is prodigal of his " blood in the moſt iniquitous cauſe; whereas, if " you ſucceed, you will live extremely happy; if " you miſcarry, the uncertainties of war will be terminated with a glorious death. However, deliberate among yourſelves as to the ſteps you " ſhould take, firſt intreating heaven to proſper your

" deter-

" determinations, in a manner worthy the courage " and zeal you have already ſhewn."

This ſpeech of Cato's inſpired ſome with confidence, and even with hope; and the generality were ſo much affected with his intrepid, his generous, and humane turn of mind, that they almoſt forgot their preſent danger; and looking upon him as the only general that was invincible, and ſuperior to all fortune, " they deſired him to make what uſe he " thought proper of their fortunes and their arms; " for that it was better to die under his banner, than " to ſave their lives at the expence of betraying ſo " much virtue." One of the council obſerved the expediency of a decree for enfranchiſing the ſlaves, and many commended the motion: Cato, however, ſaid, " He would not do that, becauſe it was neither " juſt nor lawful; but ſuch as their maſters would " voluntarily diſcharge, he would receive, provided " they were of a proper age to bear arms." This many promiſed to do; and Cato withdrew, after having ordered liſts to be made out of all that ſhould offer.

A little after this, letters were brought him from Juba and Scipio. Juba, who lay with a ſmall corps, concealed in the mountains, deſired to know Cato's intentions; propoſing to wait for him if he left Utica, or to aſſiſt him if he choſe to ſtand a ſiege. Scipio alſo lay at anchor under a promontory near Utica, expecting an anſwer on the ſame account.

Cato thought it adviſeable to keep the meſſengers till he ſhould know the final determination of the three hundred. All of the Patrician order, with great readineſs enfranchiſed and armed their ſlaves; but as for the three hundred, who dealt in traffic and loans of money at high intereſt, and whoſe ſlaves were a conſiderable part of their fortune, the impreſſion which Cato's ſpeech had made upon them, did not laſt long. As ſome bodies eaſily receive heat, and as eaſily grow cold again when the fire is removed; ſo the ſight of Cato warmed and liberalized theſe traders;

ders; but when they came to conſider the matter among themſelves, the dread of Cæſar ſoon put to flight their reverence for Cato, and for virtue. For thus they talked—"What are we, and what is the "man whoſe orders we refuſe to receive? Is it not "Cæſar, into whoſe hands the whole power of the "Roman empire is fallen? And ſurely none of us "is a Scipio, a Pompey, or a Cato. Shall we, at a "time when their fears make all men entertain ſen-"timents beneath their dignity—Shall we, in Utica, "fight for the liberty of Rome, with a man againſt "whom Cato and Pompey the Great durſt not make "a ſtand in Italy? Shall we enfranchiſe our ſlaves "to oppoſe Cæſar, who have no more liberty our-"ſelves than that conqueror is pleaſed to leave us? "Ah! wretches that we are! Let us at laſt know "ourſelves, and ſend deputies to intercede with him "for mercy." This was the language of the moſt moderate among the three hundred: but the greateſt part of them lay in wait for the patricians, thinking, if they could ſeize upon them, they ſhould more eaſily make their peace with Cæſar. Cato ſuſpected the change, but made no remonſtrances againſt it: he only wrote to Scipio and Juba to keep at a Diſtance from Utica, becauſe the three hundred were not to be depended upon.

In the mean time a conſiderable body of cavalry, who had eſcaped out of the battle, approached Utica, and diſpatched three men to Cato, though they could come to no unanimous reſolution. For ſome were for joining Juba, ſome Cato, and others were afraid to enter Utica. This account being brought to Cato, he ordered Marcus Rubrius to attend to the buſineſs of the three hundred, and quietly take down the names of ſuch as offered to ſet free their ſlaves, without pretending to uſe the leaſt compulſion. Then he went out of the town, taking the ſenators with him, to a conference with the principal officers of the cavalry. He intreated their offi-

cers

cers not to abandon ſo many Roman ſenators; nor to chuſe Juba, rather than Cato, for their general, but to join and mutually contribute to each other's ſafety, by entering the city, which was impregnable in point of ſtrength, and had proviſions and every thing neceſſary for defence for many years. The ſenators ſeconded this application with prayers and tears. The officers went to conſult the troops under their command; and Cato, with the ſenators, ſat down upon one of the mounds to wait their anſwer.

At that moment Rubrius came up in great fury, inveighing againſt the three hundred, who, he ſaid, behaved in a very diſorderly manner, and were raiſing commotions in the city. Upon this, many of the ſenators thought their condition deſperate, and gave into the utmoſt expreſſions of grief. But Cato endeavoured to encourage them, and requeſted the three hundred to have patience.

Nor was there any thing moderate in the propoſals of the cavalry. The anſwer from them was, "That they had no deſire to be in the pay of Juba; "nor did they fear Cæſar while they ſhould have "Cato for their general; but to be ſhut up with "Uticans, Phocians, who would change with the "wind, was a circumſtance which they could not "bear to think of. For," ſaid they, "if they are "quiet now, yet when Cæſar arrives, they will be"tray us and conſpire our deſtruction. Whoever, "therefore, deſires us to range under his banners "there, muſt firſt expel the Uticans, or put them "to the ſword, and then call us into a place clear of "enemies and barbarians." Theſe propoſals appeared to Cato extremely barbarous and ſavage: however, he mildly anſwered, "That he would talk "with the three hundred about them." Then entering the city again, he applied to that ſet of men, who now no longer, out of reverence to him, diſſembled or palliated their deſigns. They openly expreſſed

preſſed their reſentment, that any citizens ſhould preſume to lead them againſt Cæſar, with whom all conteſt was beyond their power and their hopes. Nay, ſome went ſo far as to ſay, "That the ſena-"tors ought to be detained in the town till Cæſar "came." Cato let this paſs as if he heard it not; and, indeed, he was a little deaf.

But being informed, that the cavalry were marching off, he was afraid that the three hundred would take ſome deſperate ſtep with reſpect to the ſenators; and he therefore went in purſuit of them with his friends. As he found they were got under march, he rode after them. It was with pleaſure they ſaw him approach; and they exhorted him to go with them, and ſave his life with theirs. On this occaſion, it is ſaid, that Cato ſhed tears, while he interceded with extended hands in behalf of the ſenators. He even turned the heads of ſome of their horſes, and laid hold of their armour, till he prevailed with them to ſtay, at leaſt, that day, to ſecure the retreat of the ſenators.

When he came back with them, and had committed the charge of the gates to ſome, and the citadel to others, the three hundred were under great apprehenſions of being puniſhed for their inconſtancy, and ſent to beg of Cato, by all means, to come and ſpeak to them. But the ſenators would not ſuffer him to go. They ſaid, they would never let their guardian and deliverer come into the hands of ſuch perfidious and traiterous men. It was now, indeed, that Cato's virtue appeared to all ranks of men in Utica in the cleareſt light, and commanded the higheſt love and admiration. Nothing could be more evident, than that the moſt perfect integrity was the guide of his actions. He had long reſolved to put an end to his being, and yet he ſubmitted to inexpreſſible labours, cares, and conflicts, for others; that, after he had ſecured their lives, he might relinquiſh his own. For his intentions, in that reſpect, were

were obvious enough, though he endeavoured to conceal them.

Therefore, after having ſatisfied the ſenators as well as he could, he went alone to wait upon the three hundred. "They thanked him for the favour, and intreated him to truſt them and make uſe of their ſervices; but as they were not Cato's, nor had Cato's dignity of mind, they hoped he would pity their weakneſs. They told him, they had reſolved to ſend deputies to Cæſar, to intercede firſt and principally for Cato. If that requeſt ſhould not be granted, they would have no obligation to him for any favour to themſelves; but, as long as they had breath, would fight for Cato." Cato made his acknowledgements for their regard, and adviſed them to ſend immediately to intercede for themſelves. "For me," ſaid he, "intercede not. It is for the conquered to turn ſuppliants, and for thoſe who have done an injury to beg pardon. For my part, I have been unconquered through life, and ſuperior in the thing I wiſhed to be; for in juſtice and honour I am Cæſar's ſuperior. Cæſar is the vanquiſhed, the falling man, being now clearly convicted of thoſe deſigns againſt his country, which he had long denied."

After he had thus ſpoken to the three hundred, he left them; and being informed, that Cæſar was already on his march to Utica, "Strange!" ſaid he, "it ſeems he takes us for men." He then went to the ſenators, and deſired them to haſten their flight while the cavalry remained. He likewiſe ſhut all the gates, except that which leads to the ſea; appointed ſhips for thoſe who were to depart; provided for good order in the town; redreſſed grievances; compoſed diſturbances, and furniſhed all who wanted with the neceſſary proviſions for the voyage. About this time Marcus Octavius * approached the place with two legions; and, as ſoon as

* The ſame who had commanded Pompey's fleet.

as he had encamped, ſent to deſire Cato to ſettle with him the buſineſs of the command. Cato gave the meſſengers no anſwer, but turning to his friends, ſaid, "Need we wonder that our cauſe has not "proſpered, when we retain our ambition on the "very brink of ruin?"

In the mean time, having intelligence that the cavalry, at their departure, were taking the goods of the Uticans as lawful prize, he haſtened up to them, and ſnatched the plunder out of the hands of the foremoſt: upon which they all threw down what they had got, and retired in ſilence, dejected and aſhamed. He then aſſembled the Uticans, and applied to them in behalf of the three hundred, deſiring them not to exaſperate Cæſar againſt thoſe Romans, but to act in concert with them, and conſult each other's ſafety. After which he returned to the ſea-ſide to look upon the embarkation; and ſuch of his friends and acquaintance as he could perſuade to go, he embraced, and diſmiſſed with great marks of affection. His ſon was not willing to go with the reſt; and he thought it was not right to inſiſt on his leaving a father he was ſo fond of. There was one Statyllius *, a young man, who affected a firmneſs of reſolution above his years, and, in all reſpects, ſtudied to appear like Cato, ſuperior to paſſion. As this young man's enmity to Cæſar was well known, Cato deſired him by all means to take ſhip with the reſt; and, when he found him bent upon ſtaying, he turned to Apollonides the ſtoic, and Demetrius the peripatetic, and ſaid, "It is your buſineſs to re-"duce this man's extravagance of mind, and to "make him ſee what is for his good." He now diſmiſſed all except ſuch as had buſineſs of importance with him; and upon theſe he ſpent that night and great part of the day following.

Lucius

* This brave young Roman was the ſame who, after the battle of Philippi, went through the enemy, to enquire into the condition of Brutus's camp, and was ſlain in his return by Cæſar's ſoldiers.

Lucius Cæſar, a relation of the conqueror, who intended to intercede for the three hundred, deſired Cato to aſſiſt him in compoſing a ſuitable ſpeech, "And for you," ſaid he, "I ſhall think it an ho-"nour to become the moſt humble ſuppliant, and "even to throw myſelf at his feet." Cato, however, would not ſuffer it: "If I choſe to be in-"debted," ſaid he, "to Cæſar for my life, I ought "to go in perſon, and without any mediator; but I "will not have any obligation to a tyrant in a buſi-"neſs by which he ſubverts the laws. And he does "ſubvert the laws, by ſaving, as a maſter, thoſe over "whom he has no right of authority. Neverthe-"leſs, we will conſider, if you pleaſe, how to make "your application moſt effectual in behalf of the "three hundred."

After he had ſpent ſome time with Lucius Cæſar upon this affair, he recommended his ſon and his friends to his protection, conducted him a little on his way, and then took his leave, and retired to his own houſe. His ſon and the reſt of his friends being aſſembled there, he diſcourſed with them a conſiderable time; and, among other things, charged the young man to take no ſhare in the adminiſtration. "For the ſtate of affairs," ſaid he, "is ſuch, that "it is impoſſible for you to fill any office in a man-"ner worthy of Cato; and to do it otherwiſe, would "be unworthy of yourſelf."

In the evening he went to the Bath; where bethinking himſelf of Statyllius, he called out aloud to Apollonides, and ſaid, "Have you taken down the "pride of that young man? and is he gone without "bidding us farewell?" "No indeed," anſwered the philoſopher, "we have taken a great deal of "pains with him; but he continues as lofty and "reſolute as ever; he ſays he will ſtay, and certain-"ly follow your conduct." Cato then ſmiled, and ſaid, "That will ſoon be ſeen."

After bathing, he went to ſupper, with a large company, at which he ſate, as he had always done ſince the battle of Pharſalia; for (as we obſerved above) he never now lay down except to ſleep. All his friends, and the magiſtrates of Utica, ſupped with him. After ſupper, the wine was ſeaſoned with much wit and learning; and many queſtions in philoſophy were propoſed and diſcuſſed. In the courſe of the converſation, they came to the paradoxes of the ſtoics, (for ſo their maxims are commonly called) and to this in particular, "That the good "man only is free, and all bad men are ſlaves *. The peripatetic, in purſuance of his principles, took up the argument againſt it. Upon which, Cato attacked him with great warmth, and in a louder and more vehement accent than uſual, carried on a moſt ſpirited diſcourſe to a conſiderable length. From the tenor of it, the whole company perceived, he had determined to put an end to his being, to extricate himſelf from the hard conditions on which he was to hold it.

As he found a deep and melancholy ſilence the conſequence of his diſcourſe, he endeavoured to recover the ſpirits of his gueſts, and to remove their ſuſpicions, by talking of their preſent affairs, and expreſſing his fears both for his friends and partizans who were upon their voyage; and for thoſe who had to make their way thro' dry deſarts, and a barbarous country.

After the entertainment was over, he took his uſual evening walk with his friends, and gave the officers of the guards ſuch orders as the occaſion required, and then retired to his chamber. The extraordinary ardour with which he embraced his ſon and his friends at this parting, recalled all their ſuſpicions. He lay down, and began to read Plato's book on the immortality of the ſoul; but before he had gone through with it, he looked up, and took notice that his ſword was not at the head of his bed, where it

* This was not only the ſentiment of the ſtoicks, but of Socrates,

it uſed to hang; for his ſon had taken it away while he was at ſupper. He, therefore, called his ſervant, and aſked him, who had taken away his ſword. As the ſervant made no anſwer, he returned to his book; and, after a while, without any appearance of haſte or hurry, as if it was only by accident that he called for the ſword, he ordered him to bring it. The ſervant ſtill delayed to bring it, and he had patience till he had read out his book; but then he called his ſervants one by one, and in a louder tone demanded his ſword. At laſt he ſtruck one of them ſuch a blow on the mouth, that he hurt his own hand; and growing more angry, and raiſing his voice ſtill higher, he cried, "I am betrayed, and delivered naked "to my enemy, by my ſon and my ſervants." His ſon then ran in with his friends, and tenderly embracing him, had recourſe to tears and intreaties. But Cato roſe up, and, with a ſtern and aweful look, thus expreſſed himſelf—"When and where did I "ſhew any ſigns of diſtraction, that nobody offers "to diſſuade me from any purpoſe I may ſeem to be "wrong in, but I muſt be hindered from purſuing "my reſolutions, thus diſarmed? And you, young "man, why do not you bind your father, bind his "hands behind his back, that, when Cæſar comes, "he may find me utterly incapable of reſiſtance? "As to a ſword, I have no need of it to diſpatch "myſelf; for if I do but hold my breath a while, "or daſh my head againſt the wall, it will anſwer "the purpoſe as well."

Upon his ſpeaking in this manner, the young man went out of the chamber weeping, and with him all the reſt, except Demetrius and Apollonides. To theſe philoſophers, he addreſſed himſelf in a milder tone.—"Are you alſo determined to make "a man of my age live whether he will or no? "And do you ſit here in ſilence to watch me? "Or do you bring any arguments to prove, that, "now Cato has no hopes from any other quarter, "it is no diſhonour to beg mercy of his enemy?

" Why do not you begin a lecture to inform me " better, that, diſmiſſing the opinions in which you " and I have lived, we may, through Cæſar's " means, grow wiſer, and ſo have a ſtill greater " obligation to him? As yet I have determined " nothing with reſpect to myſelf; but I ought to " have it in my power to put my purpoſe in execu- " tion, when I have formed it. And, indeed, I " ſhall, in ſome meaſure, conſult with you, for I " ſhall proceed in my deliberations upon the prin- " ciples of your philoſophy. Be ſatisfied then, and " go tell my ſon, if perſuaſion will not do, not to " have recourſe to conſtraint."

They made no anſwer, but went out; the tears falling from their eyes as they withdrew. The ſword was ſent in by a little boy. He drew, and examined it, and finding the point and the edge good, " Now," ſaid he, " I am maſter of myſelf." Then laying down the ſword, he took up the book again, and, it is ſaid, he peruſed the whole twice *. After which, he ſlept ſo ſound, that he was heard by thoſe who were in waiting without. About midnight he called for two of his freedmen, Cleanthes the phyſician, and Batas whom he generally employed about public buſineſs. The latter he ſent to the port, to ſee whether all the Romans had put off to ſea, and bring him word.

In the mean time he ordered the phyſician to dreſs his hand, which was inflamed by the blow he had given his ſervant. This was ſome conſolation to the whole houſe, for now they thought he had dropt his deſign againſt his life. Soon after this, Butas returned, and informed them that they were all got off except Craſſus, who had been detained by ſome buſineſs, but that he intended to embark very ſoon, though the wind blew hard, and the ſea was tempeſtuous. Cato, at this news, ſighed in pity of his friends

* Yet this very dialogue condemns Suicide in the ſtrongeſt terms.

friends at ſea, and ſent Butas again, that if any of them happened to have put back, and ſhould be in want of any thing, he might acquaint him with it.

By this time the * birds began to ſing, and Cato fell again into a little ſlumber. Butas, at his return, told him, all was quiet in the harbour: upon which, Cato ordered him to ſhut the door, having firſt ſtretched himſelf on the bed, as if he deſigned to ſleep out the reſt of the night. But, after Butas was gone, he drew his ſword, and ſtabbed himſelf under the breaſt. However, he could not ſtrike hard enough on account of the inflammation in his hand, and therefore did not preſently expire, but in the ſtruggle with death fell from the bed, and threw down a little geometrical table that ſtood by.

The noiſe alarming the ſervants, they cried out, and his ſon and his friends immediately entered the room. They found him weltering in his blood, and his bowels fallen out: at the ſame time he was alive and looked upon them—They were ſtruck with inexpreſſible horror.—The phyſician approached to examine the wound, and finding the bowels uninjured, he put them up, and began to ſew up the wound. But as ſoon as Cato came a little to himſelf, he thruſt away the phyſician, plucked out his own bowels, tore open the wound, and immediately expired.

In leſs time than one would think all the family could be informed of this ſad event, the three hundred were at the door; and a little after, all the people of Utica thronged about it, with one voice calling him "their benefactor, their ſaviour, the only "free and unconquered man." This they did, though at the ſame time they had intelligence that Cæſar was approaching. Neither fear, nor the flattery of the conqueror, nor the factious diſputes that prevailed among themſelves could divert them from doing honour to Cato. They adorned the body in a magnificent manner, and, after a ſplendid proceſ-

 ſion,

* ——Ὁ ὄρνις κατελαμβανε την ἑω καλων. Athenæ. l. x.

ſion, buried it near the ſea, where now ſtands his ſtatue, with a ſword in the right hand.

This great buſineſs over, they began to take meaſures for ſaving themſelves and their city. Cæſar had been informed by perſons who went to ſurrender themſelves, that Cato remained in Utica without any thoughts of flight; that he provided for the eſcape of others indeed, but that himſelf, with his friends and his ſon, lived there without any appearance of fear or apprehenſion. Upon theſe circumſtances he could form no probable conjecture. However, as it was a great point with him, to get him into his hands, he advanced to the place, with his army, with all poſſible expedition. And when he had intelligence of Cato's death, he is reported to have uttered this ſhort ſentence, "Cato, I "envy thee thy death, ſince thou couldeſt envy me "the glory of ſaving thy life." Indeed, if Cato had deigned to owe his life to Cæſar, he would not ſo much have tarniſhed his own honour, as to have added to that of the conqueror. What might have been the event, is uncertain; but, in all probability, Cæſar would have inclined to the merciful ſide.

Cato died at the age of forty-eight. His ſon ſuffered nothing from Cæſar; but, it is ſaid, he was rather immoral, and that he was cenſured for his conduct with reſpect to women. In Cappadocia he lodged at the houſe of Marphadates, one of the royal family, who had a very handſome wife; and as he ſtayed there a longer time than decency could warrant, ſuch jokes as theſe were paſſed upon him: "Cato goes the morrow after the thirtieth day of "the month."—"Porcius and Marphadates are two "friends who have but one *ſoul*;" for the wife of Marphadates was named *Pſyche*, which ſignifies *ſoul*. —"Cato is a great and generous man, and has a "royal *ſoul*." Nevertheleſs, he wiped off all aſperſions by his death: for fighting at Philippi againſt Octavius Caeſar and Anthony in the cauſe of liberty,

after

after his party gave way, he diſdained to fly. Inſtead of ſlipping out of the action, he challenged the enemy to try their ſtrength with Cato; he animated ſuch of his troops as ſtood their ground, and fell, acknowledged by his adverſaries, a prodigy of valour.

Cato's daughter was much more admired for her virtues. She was not inferior to her father either in prudence or in fortitude: for being married to Brutus who killed Cæſar, ſhe was truſted with the ſecret of the conſpiracy, and put a period to her life in a manner worthy of her high birth and of her virtue; as we have related in the life of Brutus.

As for Statyllius, who promiſed to imitate the pattern of Cato, he would have diſpatched himſelf ſoon after him, but was prevented by the philoſophers. He approved himſelf afterwards to Brutus a faithful and able officer, and fell in the battle of Philippi.

AGIS.

IT is not without appearance of probability that ſome think the fable of Ixion deſigned to repreſent the fate of ambitious men. Ixion took a cloud inſtead of Juno to his arms, and the Centaurs were the offspring of their embrace: the ambitious embrace honour, which is only the image of virtue; and governed by different impulſes, actuated by emulation and all the variety of paſſions, they produce nothing pure and genuine; the whole iſſue is of a prepoſterous kind. The ſhepherds in Sophocles ſay of their flocks,

—Theſe are our ſubjects, yet we ſerve them,
And liſten to their mute command.

The ſame may be truly affirmed of thoſe ſtateſmen who govern according to the capricious and violent inclinations of the people. They become ſlaves to gain the name of magiſtrates and rulers. As in a ſhip thoſe at the oar can ſee what is before them better than the pilot, and yet are often looking back to him for orders; ſo they who take their meaſures of adminiſtration only with a view to popular applauſe, are called governors indeed, but in fact are no more than ſlaves of the people.

The complete, the honeſt ſtateſman, has no farther regard to the public opinion, than as the confidence it gains him, facilitates his deſigns, and crowns them with ſucceſs. An ambitious young man may be allowed, indeed, to value himſelf upon his great and good actions, and to expect his portion of fame. For virtues, as Theophraſtus ſays, when they firſt begin to grow in perſons of that age and diſpoſition, are cheriſhed and ſtrengthened by praiſe, and

and afterwards increaſe in proportion as the love of glory increaſes. But an immoderate paſſion for fame, in all affairs is dangerous, and in political matters deſtructive. For, joined to great authority, this paſſion drives all that are poſſeſſed with it into folly and madneſs, while they no longer think that glorious which is good, but account whatever is glorious to be alſo good and honeſt. Therefore, as Phocion ſaid to Antipater, when he deſired ſomething of him inconſiſtent with juſtice, "You cannot have "Phocion for your friend and flatterer too;" this, or ſomething like it, ſhould be ſaid to the multitude, "You cannot have the ſame man both for your go- "vernor and your ſlave." For that would be no more than exemplifying the fable of the ſerpent. The tail, it ſeems, one day quarrelled with the head, and, inſtead of being forced always to follow, inſiſted that it ſhould lead in it's turn. Accordingly, the tail undertook the charge, and, as it moved forward at all adventures, it tore itſelf in a terrible manner; and the head, which was thus obliged, againſt nature, to follow a guide that could neither ſee nor hear, ſuffered likewiſe in its turn. We ſee many under the ſame predicament, whoſe object is popularity in all the ſteps of their adminiſtration. Attached entirely to the capricious multitude, they produce ſuch diſorders as they can neither redreſs nor reſtrain.

Theſe obſervations on popularity were ſuggeſted to us, by conſidering the effects of it in the misfortunes of Tiberius and Caius Gracchus. In point of diſpoſition, of education, and political principles, none could exceed them; yet they were ruined, not ſo much by an immoderate love of glory, as by a fear of diſgrace, which, in its origin, was not wrong. They had been ſo much obliged to the people for their favour, that they were aſhamed to be behindhand with them in marks of attention. On the contrary, by the moſt acceptable ſervices they always ſtudied to outdo the honours paid them, and being

ſtill

ſtill more honoured on account of thoſe ſervices, the affection between them and the people became at laſt ſo violent, that it forced them into a ſituation wherein it was in vain to ſay, "Since we are wrong, it "would be a ſhame to perſiſt." In the courſe of the hiſtory theſe obſervations occur.

With thoſe two Romans let us compare two Spartan kings, Agis and Cleomenes, who were not behind them in popularity. Like the Gracchi, they ſtrove to enlarge the privileges of the people, and by reſtoring the juſt and glorious inſtitutions which had long fallen into diſuſe, they became equally obnoxious to the great, who could not think of parting with the ſuperiority which riches gave them, and to which they had long been accuſtomed. Theſe Spartans were not, indeed, brothers; but their actions were of the ſame kindred and complexion; the ſource of which was this:

When the love of money made it's way into Sparta, and brought avarice and meanneſs in its train, on the one hand, on the other, profuſion, effeminacy, luxury; that ſtate ſoon deviated from its original virtue, and ſunk into contempt till the reign of Agis and Leonidas. Agis was of the family of Eurytion, the ſon of Eudamidas, the ſixth in deſcent from Ageſilaus, diſtinguiſhed by his expedition into Aſia, and for his eminence in Greece. Ageſilaus was ſucceeded by his ſon Archidamus, who was ſlain by the Meſſapians at * Mandonium in Italy. Agis was the eldeſt ſon of Archidamus, and, being ſlain at Megalopolis by Antipater, and leaving no iſſue, was ſucceeded by his brother Eudamidas. He was ſucceeded by another Archidamus, his ſon, and that prince by another Eudamidas, his ſon likewiſe, and the father of that Agis of whom we are now ſpeaking. Leonidas, the ſon of Cleonymus, was of another branch of

* We know of no ſuch place as *Mandonium*. Probably we ſhould read *Mandurium*, which is a city of Japygia, mentioned by the geographers. CELLARIUS, p. 902.

of the family of the Agiadæ, the eighth in deſcent from that Pauſanias, who conquered Mardonius at Platææ. Pauſanias was ſucceeded by his ſon Pliſtonax, and he by another Pauſanias, who being baniſhed to Tegea, left his kingdom to his eldeſt ſon Ageſipolis. He dying without iſſue was ſucceeded by his brother Cleombrotus, who left two ſons, Ageſipolis and Cleomenes. Ageſipolis, after a ſhort reign, died without iſſue, and Cleomenes who ſucceeded him in the kingdom, after burying his eldeſt ſon Acrotatus, left ſurviving another ſon Cleonymus, who, however, did not ſucceed to the kingdom, which fell to Areus the ſon of Acrotatus and grandſon of Cleomenes. Areus being ſlain at Corinth, the crown deſcended to his ſon Acrotatus, who was defeated and killed in the battle of Megalopolis by the tyrant Ariſtodemus. He left his wife pregnant, and as the child proved to be a ſon, Leonidas the ſon of Cleonymus took the guardianſhip of him; and his charge dying in his minority, the crown fell to him. This prince was not agreeable to his people. For, though the corruption was general, and they all grew daily more and more depraved, yet Leonidas was more remarkable than the reſt for his deviation from the cuſtoms of his anceſtors. He had long been converſant in the courts of the Aſiatic princes, particularly in that of Seleucus, and he had the indiſcretion to introduce the pomp of thoſe courts into a Grecian ſtate, into a kingdom where the laws were the rules of government.

Agis far exceeded not only him, but almoſt all the kings who reigned before him ſince the great Ageſilaus, in goodneſs of diſpoſition and dignity of mind. For, though brought up in the greateſt affluence, and in all the indulgence that might be expected from female tuition, under his mother Ageſiſtrata and his grandmother Archidamia, who were the richeſt perſons in Lacedaemonia, yet before he reached the age of twenty, he declared war againſt pleaſure;

ſure; and to prevent any vanity which the beauty of his perſon might have ſuggeſted, he diſcarded all unneceſſary ornament and expence, and conſtantly appeared in a plain Lacedaemonian cloak. In his diet, his bathing, and in all his exerciſes, he kept cloſe to the Spartan ſimplicity, and he often uſed to ſay that the crown was no farther an object of deſire to him, than as it might enable him to reſtore the laws and ancient diſcipline of his country.

The firſt ſymptoms of corruption and diſtemper in their commonwealth, appeared at the time when the Spartans had entirely deſtroyed the Athenian empire, and began to bring gold and ſilver into Lacedaemon. Nevertheleſs, the *agrarian* law eſtabliſhed by Lycurgus ſtill ſubſiſting, and the lots of land deſcending undiminiſhed from father to ſon, order and equality in ſome meaſure remained, which prevented other errors from being fatal. But Epitadeus, a man of great authority in Sparta, though at the ſame time factious and ill-natured, being appointed one of the *ephori*, and having a quarrel with his ſon, procured a law that all men ſhould have liberty to alienate * their eſtates in their life-time, or to leave them to whom they pleaſed at their death. It was to indulge his private reſentment, that this man propoſed the decree, which others accepted and confirmed from a motive of avarice, and thus the beſt inſtitution in the world was abrogated. Men of fortune now extended their landed eſtates without bounds, not ſcrupling to exclude the right heirs; and property quickly coming into a few hands, the reſt of the people were poor and miſerable. The latter found no time or opportunity for liberal arts and

* It was good policy in the kings of England and France to procure laws, impowering the nobility to alienate their eſtates, and by that means to reduce their power; for the nobility in thoſe times were no better than ſo many petty tyrants.

and exerciſes, being obliged to drudge in mean and mechanic employments for their bread, and conſequently looking with envy and hatred on the rich. There remained not above ſeven hundred of the old Spartan families, of which perhaps one hundred had eſtates in land. The reſt of the city was filled with an inſignificant rabble without property or honour, who had neither heart nor ſpirit to defend their country againſt wars abroad, and who were always watching an opportunity for changes and revolutions at home.

For theſe reaſons Agis thought it a noble undertaking, as in fact it was, to bring the citizens again to an equality, and by that means to repleniſh Sparta, with reſpectable inhabitants. For this purpoſe he ſounded the inclinations of his ſubjects. The young men liſtened to him with a readineſs far beyond his expectation: they adopted the cauſe of virtue with him, and, for the ſake of liberty, changed their manner of living, with as little objection as they would have changed their apparel. But moſt of the old men, being far gone in corruption, were as much afraid of the name of Lycurgus, as a fugitive ſlave, when brought back, is of that of his maſter. They inveighed, therefore, againſt Agis for lamenting the preſent ſtate of things, and deſiring to reſtore the ancient dignity of Sparta. On the other hand, Lyſander the ſon of Libys, Mandroclidas the ſon of Ecphanes, and Ageſilaus, not only came into his glorious deſigns, but coöperated with them.

Lyſander had great reputation and authority among the Spartans. No man underſtood the intereſts of Greece better than Mandroclïdas, and with his ſhrewdneſs and capacity he had a proper mixture of ſpirit. As for Ageſilaus, he was uncle to the king, and a man of great eloquence, but at the ſame time effeminate and avaricious. However, he was animated to this enterprize by his ſon Hippomedon,

who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in many wars, and was reſpectable on account of the attachment of the Spartan youth to his perſon. It muſt be acknowledged, indeed, that the thing which really perſuaded Ageſilaus to embark in the deſign, was the greatneſs of his debts, which he hoped to be cleared of by a change in the conſtitution.

As ſoon as Agis had gained him, he endeavoured, with his aſſiſtance, to bring his own mother into the ſcheme. She was ſiſter to Ageſilaus, and by her extenſive connections, her wealth, and the number of people who owed her money, had great influence in Sparta, and a conſiderable ſhare in the management of public affairs. Upon the firſt intimation of the thing, ſhe was quite aſtoniſhed at it, and diſſuaded the young man, as much as poſſible, from meaſures which ſhe looked upon as neither practicable nor ſalutary. But Ageſilaus ſhewed her that they might eaſily be brought to bear, and that they would prove of the greateſt utility to the ſtate. The young prince, too, intreated his mother to ſacrifice her wealth to the advancement of his glory, and to indulge his laudable ambition. "It is impoſſible," ſaid he, "for "me ever to vie with other kings in point of opu- "lence. The domeſtics of an Aſiatic grandee, nay, "the ſervants of the ſtewards of Ptolemy and Se- "leucus were richer than all the Spartan kings put "together. But if by ſobriety, by ſimplicity of "proviſion for the body, and by greatneſs of mind, "I can do ſomething which ſhall far exceed all their "pomp and luxury, I mean the making an equal "partition of property among all the citizens, I "ſhall really become a great king, and have all "the honour that ſuch actions demand."

This addreſs changed the opinions of the women. They entered into the young man's glorious views; they caught the flame of virtue as it were by inſpiration, and, in their turn, haſtened Agis to put his ſcheme in execution. They ſent for their friends, and

and recommended the affair to them; and they did the ſame to the other matrons. For they knew that the Lacedaemonians always hearken to their wives, and that the women are permitted to intermeddle more with public buſineſs, than the men are with the domeſtic. This, indeed, was the principal obſtruction to Agis's enterprize. Great part of the wealth of Sparta was now in the hands of the women: conſequently they oppoſed the reformation, not only becauſe they knew they muſt forfeit thoſe gratifications, in which their deviation from the ſeverer paths of ſobriety had brought them to place their happineſs; but becauſe they ſaw they muſt alſo loſe that honour and power which follow property. They therefore applied to Leonidas the other king, and deſired him, as the older man, to put a ſtop to the projects of Agis.

Leonidas was inclined to ſerve the rich; but as he feared the people who were very deſirous of the change, he did not oppoſe it openly. Privately, however, he ſtrove to blaſt the deſign, by applying to the magiſtrates, and invidiouſly repreſented, "that "Agis offered the poor a ſhare in the eſtates of the "rich, as the price of abſolute power; and that the "diſtribution of lands, and cancelling of debts, was "only a means to purchaſe guards for himſelf, not "citizens for Sparta."

Agis, however, having intereſt to get Lyſander elected one of the *ephori*, took the firſt opportunity to propoſe his *rhetra* to the ſenate; according to which, "Debtors were to be releaſed from their "obligations; and lands to be divided in the fol-"lowing manner:—Thoſe that lay between the "valley of Pellene and Mount Taygetus, as far as "Malea and Sellaſia, were to be diſtributed in four "thouſand five hundred equal lots; fifteen thouſand "lots were to be made of the remaining territory, "which ſhould be ſhared among the neighbouring "inhabitants who were able to bear arms: as to

"what

" what lay within the limits firſt mentioned, Spartans " were to have the preference; but if their number " fell ſhort, it ſhould be made up out of ſtrangers " who were unexceptionable in point of perſon, " condition, and education. Theſe were to be di- " vided into fifteen companies, ſome of four hun- " dred, ſome of two hundred, who were to eat to- " gether, and keep to the diet and diſcipline en- " joined by the laws of Lycurgus."

The decree thus propoſed in the ſenate, and the members differing in their opinions upon it, Lyſander ſummoned an aſſembly of the people; and he, with Mandroclidas and Ageſilaus, in their diſcourſe to the citizens, intreated them not to ſuffer the few to inſult the many, or to ſee with unconcern the majeſty of Sparta trodden under foot. They deſired them to recollect the ancient oracles which bade them beware of the love of money, as a vice the moſt ruinous to Sparta, as well as the late anſwer from the temple of Paſiphae, which gave them the ſame warning. For Paſiphae had a temple and oracle at Thalamiae *. Some ſay, this Paſiphae was one of the daughters of Atlas, who had by Jupiter a ſon named Ammon. Others ſuppoſe her to be Caſſandra † the daughter of Priam, who died at that place, and might have the name of *Paſiphae* ‡, from her anſwering the queſtions of all that conſulted her. But Phylarchus ſays, ſhe was no other than Daphne

* Thoſe who conſulted this oracle lay down to ſleep in the temple, and the goddeſs revealed to them the object of their enquiries in a dream. Cic. de div. l. 1.

† Pauſanias would incline one to think that this was the goddeſs Ino. " On the road between Œtylus and Thalamiæ," ſays " he, is the temple of Ino. It is the cuſtom of thoſe who con- " ſult her to ſleep in her temple, and what they want to know " is revealed to them in a dream. In the court of the temple " are two ſtatues of braſs, one of *Paphia*, [it ought to be *Pa- " ſiphae*] the other of the ſun. That which is in the temple is " ſo covered with garlands and fillets that it is not to be ſeen; " but it is ſaid to be of braſs."

‡ Διὰ τὸ πᾶσι φαίνειν μαντεῖα.

Daphne the daughter of Amyclas, who flying from the ſollicitations of Apollo, was turned into a laurel, and afterwards honoured by that deity with the gift of prophecy. Be that as it may, it was affirmed that her oracle had commanded all the Spartans to return to the equality which the laws of Lycurgus originally enjoined.

Laſt of all, king Agis entered the aſſembly, and, after a ſhort ſpeech, declared, that he would contribute largely to the inſtitution he recommended. He would firſt give up to the community his own great eſtate, conſiſting of arable and paſture land, and of ſix hundred talents in money: then his mother and grandmother, all his relations and friends, who were the richeſt perſons in Sparta, would follow his example.

The people were aſtoniſhed at the magnificence of the young man's propoſal, and rejoiced, that now, after the ſpace of three hundred years, they had at laſt found a king worthy of Sparta. Upon this, Leonidas began openly and vigorouſly to oppoſe the new regulations. He conſidered that he ſhould be obliged to do the ſame with his colleague, without finding the ſame acknowledgments from the people: that all would be equally under a neceſſity of giving up their fortunes, and that he who firſt ſet the example, would alone reap the honour. He therefore demanded of Agis, "Whether he "thought Lycurgus a juſt and good man?" Agis anſwering in the affirmative, Leonidas thus went on —"But did Lycurgus ever order juſt debts to be "cancelled, or beſtow the freedom of Sparta upon "ſtrangers? Did he not rather think his common-"wealth could not be in a ſalutary ſtate, except "ſtrangers were entirely excluded?" Agis replied, "He did not wonder that Leonidas, who was edu-"cated in a foreign country, and had children by an "intermarriage with a Perſian family, ſhould be ig-"norant that Lycurgus, in baniſhing money, ba-

" niſhed both debts and uſury from Lacedaemon.
" As for ſtrangers, he excluded only thoſe who
" were not likely to conform to his inſtitutions, or
" fit to claſs with his people. For he did not diſ-
" like them merely as ſtrangers; his exceptions were
" to their manners and cuſtoms, and he was afraid
" that, by mixing with his Spartans, they would
" infect them with their luxury, effeminacy and
" avarice. Terpander, Thales, and Pherecydes,
" were ſtrangers, yet becauſe their poetry and phi-
" loſophy moved in concert with the maxims of Ly-
" curgus, they were held in great honour at Sparta.
" Even you commend Ecprepes, who, when he
" was one of the *ephori*, retrenched the two ſtrings
" which Phrynis the muſician had added to the ſe-
" ven of the harp; you commend thoſe who did the
" ſame by Timotheus*; and yet you complain of
" our intention to baniſh ſuperfluity, pride and lux-
" ury, from Sparta. Do you think that in retrench-
" ing the ſwelling and ſupernumerary graces of mu-
" ſic they had no farther view, and that they were
" not afraid the exceſs and diſorder would reach the
" lives and manners of the people, and deſtroy the
" harmony of the ſtate."

From this time the common people followed Agis. But the rich intreated Leonidas not to give up their cauſe; and they exerted their intereſt ſo effectually with the ſenate, whoſe chief power lay in previouſly determining what laws ſhould be propoſed to the people, that they carried it againſt the *rhetra* by a majority of one. Lyſander, however, being yet in office, reſolved to proſecute Leonidas upon an ancient law, which forbids every deſcendant of Hercules to have children by a woman that is a ſtranger, and makes it capital for a Spartan to ſettle in a foreign

* Timotheus the Mileſian, a celebrated Dithyrambic poet and muſician. He added even a twelfth ſtring to the harp, for which he was ſeverely puniſhed by the ſage Spartans, who concluded that luxury of ſound would effeminate the people.

reign country. He inſtructed others to allege theſe things againſt Leonidas, while he, with his colleagues, watched for a ſign from heaven. It was the cuſtom for the *ephori* every ninth year, on a clear ſtar-light night, when there was no moon, to ſit down, and in ſilence obſerve the heavens. If a ſtar happened to ſhoot from one part of them to another, they pronounced the kings guilty of ſome crime againſt the gods, and ſuſpended them 'till they were re-eſtabliſhed by an oracle from Delphi or Olympia. Lyſander affirming that the ſign had appeared to him, ſummoned Leonidas to his trial, and produced witneſſes to prove that he had two children by an Aſiatic woman, whom one of Seleucus's lieutenants had given him to wife; but that, on her conceiving a mortal averſion to him, he returned home againſt his will, and filled up the vacancy in the throne of Sparta. During this ſuit, he perſuaded Cleombrotus, ſon-in-law to Leonidas, and a prince of the blood, to lay claim to the crown. Leonidas, greatly terrified, fled to the altar of Minerva in the *Chalcioecus* *, as a ſuppliant; and his daughter, leaving Cleombrotus, joined him in the interceſſion. He was re-ſummoned to the court of judicature; and as he did not appear, he was depoſed, and the kingdom adjudged to Cleombrotus.

Soon after this revolution, Lyſander's time expired, and he quitted his office. The *ephori* of the enſuing year liſtened to the ſupplication of Leonidas, and conſented to reſtore him. They likewiſe began a proſecution againſt Lyſander and Mandroclidas for the cancelling of debts and diſtribution of lands, which thoſe magiſtrates agreed to contrary to law. In this danger, they perſuaded the two kings to unite their intereſt, and to deſpiſe the machinations of the *ephori*. "Theſe magiſtrates," ſaid they, "have "no power but what they derive from ſome differ- "ence between the kings. In ſuch a caſe they have

* Minerva had a temple at Sparta intirely of braſs.

" a right to ſupport with their ſuffrage the prince " whoſe meaſures are ſalutary, againſt the other who " conſults not the public good; but when the kings " are unanimous, nothing can over-rule their deter- " minations. To reſiſt them is then to fight againſt " the laws. For, as we ſaid, they can only decide " between the kings in caſe of diſagreement; when " their ſentiments are the ſame, the *ephori* have no " right to interpoſe."

The kings, prevailed upon by this argument, entered the place of aſſembly with their friends, where they removed the *ephori* from their ſeats, and placed others in their room. Ageſilaus was one of theſe new magiſtrates. They then armed a great number of the youth, and releaſed many out of priſon; upon which, their adverſaries were ſtruck with terror, expecting that many lives would be loſt. However, they put not one man to the ſword: on the contrary, Agis underſtanding that Ageſilaus deſigned to kill Leonidas in his flight to Tegea, and had planted aſſaſſins for that purpoſe on the way, generouſly ſent a party of men whom he could depend upon, to eſcort him, and they conducted him ſafe to Tegea.

Thus the buſineſs went on with all the ſucceſs they could deſire, and they had no farther oppoſition to encounter. But this excellent regulation, ſo worthy of Lacedaemon, miſcarried through the failure of one of its pretended advocates, the vile diſeaſe of avarice in Ageſilaus. He was poſſeſſed of a large and fine eſtate in land, but at the ſame time deeply in debt; and as he was neither able to pay his debts, nor willing to part with his land, he repreſented to Agis, that if both his intenſions were carried into execution at the ſame time, it would probably raiſe great commotions in Sparta; but if he firſt obliged the rich by the cancelling of debts, they would afterwards quietly and readily conſent to the diſtribution of lands. Ageſilaus drew Lyſander,

too,

too, into the ſame ſnare. An order, therefore, was iſſued for bringing in all bonds (the Lacedaemonians call them *claria*) and they were piled together in the market-place, and burnt. When the fire began to burn, the uſurers and other creditors walked off in great diſtreſs. But Ageſilaus, in a ſcoffing way, ſaid, "He never ſaw a brighter or more glorious "flame."

The common people demanded that the diſtribution of lands ſhould alſo be made immediately, and the kings gave orders for it; but Ageſilaus found out ſome pretence or other for delay, 'till it was time for Agis to take the field in behalf of the Achaeans, who were allies of the Spartans, and had applied to them for ſuccours. For they expected that the Ætolians would take their route through the territory of Megara, and enter Peloponneſus. Aratus, general of the Achaeans, aſſembled an army to prevent it, and wrote to the *ephori* for aſſiſtance.

They immediately ſent Agis upon that ſervice; and that prince went out with the higheſt hopes, on account of the ſpirit of his men and their attachment to his perſon. They were moſt of them young men in very indifferent circumſtances, who being now releaſed from their debts, and expecting a diviſion of lands if they returned from the war, ſtrove to recommend themſelves as much as poſſible to Agis. It was a moſt agreeable ſpectacle to the cities, to ſee them march through Peloponneſus without committing the leaſt violence, and with ſuch diſcipline that they were ſcarce heard as they paſſed. The Greeks ſaid one to another, "With what excellent order "and decency muſt the armies under Ageſilaus, "Lyſander, or Ageſilaus of old, have moved, when "we find ſuch exact obedience, ſuch reverence in "theſe Spartans to a general who is, perhaps, the "youngeſt man in the whole army!" Indeed, this young prince's ſimplicity of diet, his love of labour, and his affecting no ſhow either in his dreſs or arms

above a private ſoldier, made all the common people, as he paſſed, look upon him with pleaſure and admiration: but his new regulations at Lacedaemon diſpleaſed the rich, and they were afraid that he might raiſe commotions every where among the commonalty, and put them upon following the example.

After Agis had joined Aratus at Corinth, in the deliberations about meeting and fighting the enemy, he ſhewed a proper courage and ſpirit without any enthuſiaſtic or irrational flights. He gave it as his opinion, "that they ſhould give battle, and not ſuf-"fer the war to enter the gates of Peleponneſus. "He would do, however, what Aratus thought "moſt expedient, becauſe he was the older man, "and general of the Achaeans, whom he came not "to dictate to, but to aſſiſt in the war."

It muſt be acknowledged that Bato * of Sinope relates it in another manner. He ſays, Aratus was for fighting, and Agis declined it. But Bato had never met with what Aratus writes by way of apology for himſelf upon this point. That general tells us, "That, as the huſbandmen had almoſt finiſhed "their harveſt, he thought it better to let the enemy "paſs, than to hazard by a battle the loſs of the "whole country." Therefore, when Aratus determined not to fight, and diſmiſſed his allies with compliments on their readineſs to ſerve him, Agis, who had gained great honour by his behaviour, marched back to Sparta, where, by this time, internal troubles and changes demanded his preſence.

Ageſilaus, ſtill one of the *ephori*, and delivered from the preſſure of debt which had weighed down his ſpirits, ſcrupled no act of injuſtice that might bring money into his coffers. He even added to the year a thirteenth month, though the proper period for that intercalation was not come, and inſiſted on the people's paying ſupernumerary taxes for that month. Being afraid, however, of revenge from thoſe

* He wrote the hiſtory of Perſia.

thoſe he had injured; and ſeeing himſelf hated by all the world, he thought it neceſſary to maintain a guard, which always attended him to the ſenate-houſe. As to the kings, he expreſſed an utter contempt for one of them, and the reſpect he paid the other he would have underſtood to be, rather on account of his being his kinſman, than his wearing the crown. Beſides, he propagated a report, that he ſhould be one of the *ephori* the year following. His enemies, therefore, determined to hazard an immediate attempt againſt him, and openly brought back Leonidas from Tegea, and placed him on the throne. The people ſaw it with pleaſure; for they were angry at finding themſelves deceived with reſpect to the promiſed diſtribution of lands. Ageſilaus had hardly eſcaped their fury, had not his ſon Hippomedon, who was held in great eſteem by the whole city on account of his valour, interceded for his life.

The kings both took ſanctuary, Agis in *Chalcioecus*, and Cleombrotus in the temple of Neptune. It was againſt the latter that Leonidas was moſt incenſed; and therefore paſſing Agis by, he went with a party of ſoldiers to ſeize Cleombrotus, whom he reproached, in terms of reſentment, with conſpiring againſt him, though honoured with his alliance, depriving him of the crown, and baniſhing him his country.

Cleombrotus had nothing to ſay, but ſate in the deepeſt diſtreſs and ſilence. Chelonis, the daughter of Leonidas, had looked upon the injury done her father as done to herſelf: when Cleombrotus robbed him of the crown, ſhe left him, to conſole her father in his misfortune. While he was in ſanctuary, ſhe ſtayed with him, and when he retired ſhe attended him in his flight, ſympathizing with his ſorrow, and full of reſentment againſt Cleombrotus. But when the fortunes of her father changed, ſhe changed too. She joined her huſband as a ſuppliant, and

was found ſitting by him with great marks of tenderneſs, and her two children, one on each ſide, at her feet. The whole company were much ſtruck at the ſight, and they could not refrain from tears when they conſidered her goodneſs of heart and ſuch ſuperior inſtances of affection.

Chelonis then pointing to her mourning habit and diſhevelled hair, thus addreſſed Leonidas. "It was "not, my dear father, compaſſion for Cleombrotus, "which put me in this habit, and gave me this look "of miſery. My ſorrows took their date with your "misfortunes and your baniſhment, and have ever "ſince remained my familiar companions. Now "you have conquered your enemies, and are again "king of Sparta, ſhould I ſtill retain theſe enſigns "of affliction, or aſſume feſtival and royal orna-"ments, while the huſband of my youth, whom you "gave me, falls a victim to your vengeance. If his "own ſubmiſſion, if the tears of his wife and chil-"dren cannot propitiate you, he muſt ſuffer a ſe-"verer puniſhment for his offences than you require "—he muſt ſee his beloved wife die before him. "For how can I live and ſupport the ſight of my "own ſex, after both my huſband and my father "have refuſed to hearken to my ſupplication—when "it appears that, both as a wife and a daughter, I "am born to be miſerable with my family? If this "poor man had any plauſible reaſons for what he "did, I obviated them all by forſaking him to fol-"low you. But you furniſh him with a ſufficient "apology for his miſbehaviour, by ſhewing that a "crown is ſo great and deſirable an object, that a "ſon-in-law muſt be ſlain, and a daughter utterly "diſregarded, where that is in the queſtion."

Chelonis, after this ſupplication, reſted her cheek on her huſband's head, and with an eye dim and languid with ſorrow looked round on the ſpectators. Leonidas conſulted his friends upon the point, and then commanded Cleombrotus to riſe and go into exile;

exile; but he desired Chelonis to stay, and not leave so affectionate a father, who had been kind enough to grant her her husband's life. Chelonis, however, would not be persuaded. When her husband was risen from the ground, she put one child in his arms, and took the other herself, and after having paid due homage at the altar where they had taken sanctuary, she went with him into banishment. So that, had not Cleombrotus been corrupted with the love of false glory, he must have thought exile, with such a woman, a greater happiness than a kingdom without her.

After Cleombrotus was thus expelled, the *ephori* removed, and others put in their place, Leonidas laid a scheme to get Agis into his power. At first he desired him to leave his sanctuary, and resume his share in the government; "for the people," he said, "thought he might well be pardoned, as a young "man ambitious of honour; and the rather, because "they, as well as he, had been deceived by the "craft of Agesilaus." But when he found that Agis suspected him, and chose to stay where he was, he threw off the mask of kindness. Amphares, Demochares and Arcesilaus used to give Agis their company, for they were his intimate friends. They likewise conducted him from the temple to the bath, and, after he had bathed, brought him back to the sanctuary. Amphares had lately borrowed a great deal of plate and other rich furniture of Agesistrata, and he hoped that if he could destroy the king and the princesses of his family, he might keep those goods as his own. On this account he is said to have first listened to the suggestions of Leonidas, and to have endeavoured to bring the *ephori*, his colleagues, to do the same.

As Agis spent the rest of his time in the temple, and only went out to the bath, they resolved to make use of that opportunity. Therefore, one day on his return, they met him with a great appearance of friendship,

friendſhip, and as they conducted him on his way, converſed with much freedom and gaiety, which his youth and their intimacy with him ſeemed to warrant. But when they came to the turning of a ſtreet which led to the priſon, Amphares, by virtue of his office, arreſted him. "I take you, Agis," ſaid he, "into cuſtody, in order to your giving account to "the *ephori* of your adminiſtration." At the ſame time, Demochares, who was a tall ſtrong man, wrapped his cloak about his head, and dragged him off. The reſt, as they had previouſly concerted the thing, puſhed him on behind, and no one coming to his reſcue or aſſiſtance, he was committed to priſon.

Leonidas preſently came with a ſtrong band of mercenaries, to ſecure the priſon without; and the *ephori* entered it, with ſuch ſenators as were of their party. They began, as in a judicial proceſs, with demanding what he had to ſay in defence of his proceedings; and, as the young prince only laughed at their diſſimulation, Amphares told him, "They "would ſoon make him weep for his preſumption." Another of the *ephori*, ſeeming inclined to put him in a way of excuſing himſelf and getting off, aſked him, "Whether Lyſander and Ageſilaus had not "forced him into the meaſures he took?" But Agis anſwered, "I was forced by no man; it was my at-"tachment to the inſtitutions of Lycurgus, and my "deſire to imitate him, which made me adopt his "form of government." Then the ſame magiſtrate demanded, "Whether he repented of what he had "done?" and his anſwer was, "I ſhall never re-"pent of ſo glorious a deſign, though I ſee death "before my eyes." Upon this, they paſſed ſentence of death upon him, and commanded the officers to carry him into the *decade*, which is a ſmall apartment in the priſon where they ſtrangle malefactors. But the officers durſt not touch him, and the very mercenaries declined it; for they thought it impious

impious to lay violent hands on a king. Demochares ſeeing this, loaded them with reproaches, and threatened to puniſh them. At the ſame time, he laid hold on Agis himſelf, and thruſt him into the dungeon.

By this time it was generally known that Agis was taken into cuſtody, and there was a great concourſe of people at the priſon-gates with lanthorns and torches. Among the numbers who reſented theſe proceedings, were the mother and grandmother of Agis, crying out and begging that the king might be heard and judged by the people in full aſſembly. But this, inſtead of procuring him a reſpite, haſtened his execution; for they were afraid he would be reſcued in the night, if the tumult ſhould increaſe.

As Agis was going to execution, he perceived one of the officers lamenting his fate with tears; upon which, he ſaid, "My friend, dry up your tears: "for, as I ſuffer innocently, I am in a better condi- "tion than thoſe who condemn me contrary to law "and juſtice." So ſaying, he chearfully offered his neck to the executioner.

Amphares then going to the gate, Ageſiſtrata threw herſelf at his feet, on account of their long intimacy and friendſhip. He raiſed her from the ground, and told her, "no farther violence ſhould "be offered her ſon, nor ſhould he now have any "hard treatment." He told her, too, ſhe might go in and ſee her ſon, if ſhe pleaſed. She deſired that her mother might be admitted with her, and Amphares aſſured her, there would be no objection. When he had let them in, he commanded the gates to be locked again, and Archidamia to be firſt introduced. She was now very old, and had lived in great honour and eſteem among the Spartans. After ſhe was put to death, he ordered Ageſiſtrata to walk in. She did ſo, and beheld her ſon extended on the ground, and her mother hanging by the neck. She aſſiſted the officers in taking Archidamia down, placed

placed the body by that of Agis, and wrapped it decently up. Then embracing her ſon and kiſſing him, ſhe ſaid, "My ſon, thy too great moderation, "lenity, and humanity, have ruined both thee and "us." Amphares, who from the door ſaw and heard all that paſſed, went up in great fury to Agefiſtrata, and ſaid, "If you approved your ſon's "actions, you ſhall alſo have his reward." She roſe up to meet her fate, and ſaid, with a ſigh for her country, "May all this be for the good of "Sparta!"

When theſe events were reported in the city, and the three corpſes carried out, the terror the ſad ſcene inſpired was not ſo great, but that the people openly expreſſed their grief and indignation, and their hatred of Leonidas and Amphares. For they were perſuaded that there had not been ſuch a train of villainous and impious actions at Sparta, ſince the Dorians firſt inhabited Peloponneſus. The majeſty of the kings of Sparta had been held in ſuch veneration even by their enemies, that they had ſcrupled to ſtrike them, when they had opportunity for it in battle. Hence it was, that in the many actions between the Lacedaemonians and the other Greeks, the former had loſt only their king Cleombrotus, who fell by a javelin at the battle of Leuctra a little before the times of Philip of Macedon. As for Theopompus, who, as the Meſſenians affirm, was ſlain by Ariſtomenes, the Lacedaemonians deny it, and ſay he was only wounded. That, indeed, is a matter of ſome diſpute: but it is certain that Agis was the firſt king of Lacedaemon put to death by the *ephori*; and that he ſuffered only for engaging in an enterprize that was truly glorious and worthy of Sparta; though he was of an age at which even errors are conſidered as pardonable. His friends had more reaſon to complain of him, than his enemies, for ſaving Leonidas, and truſting his aſſociates, in the undeſigning generoſity and goodneſs of his heart.

CLEOMENES.

AFTER Agis was put to death, Leonidas intended the ſame fate for his brother Archidamus; but that prince ſaved himſelf by a timely retreat. However, his wife Agiatis, who was newly brought to bed, was forced by the tyrant from her own houſe, and given to his ſon Cleomenes. Cleomenes was not quite come to years of maturity, but his father was not willing that any other man ſhould have the lady; for ſhe was daughter to Gylippus, and heireſs to his great eſtate; and in beauty, as well as happineſs of temper and conduct, ſuperior to all the women of Greece. She left nothing unattempted, to prevent her being forced into this match, but found all her efforts ineffectual. Therefore, when ſhe was married to Cleomenes, ſhe made him a good and affectionate wife, though ſhe hated his father. Cleomenes was paſſionately fond of her from the firſt, and his attachment to his wife made him ſympathize with her in the mournful remembrance of Agis. He would often aſk her for the hiſtory of that unfortunate prince, and liſten with great attention to her account of his ſentiments and deſigns.

Cleomenes was ambitious of glory, and had a native greatneſs of mind. Nature had, moreover, diſpoſed him to temperance and ſimplicity of manners, as much as Agis; but he had not his calmneſs and moderation. His ſpirit had an ardour in it; and there was an impetuoſity in his purſuits of honour, or whatever appeared to him under that character. He thought it moſt glorious to reign over a willing people; but, at the ſame time, he thought it not inglorious

glorious to ſubdue their reluctancies, and bring them againſt their inclinations into what was good and ſalutary.

He was not ſatisfied with the prevailing manners and cuſtoms of Sparta. He ſaw that eaſe and pleaſure were the great objects with the people; that the king paid but little regard to public concerns, and if nobody gave him any diſturbance, choſe to ſpend his time in the enjoyments of affluence and luxury; that individuals, entirely actuated by ſelf-intereſt, paid no attention to the buſineſs of the ſtate, any farther than they could turn it to their own emolument. And what rendered the proſpect ſtill more melancholy, it appeared dangerous to make any mention of training the youth to ſtrong exerciſes, and ſtrict temperance, to perſevering fortitude, and univerſal equality, ſince the propoſing of theſe things coſt Agis his life.

It is ſaid, too, that Cleomenes was inſtructed in philoſophy, at a very early period of life, by Sphaerus the Boryſthenite *, who came to Lacedaemon, and taught the youth with great diligence and ſucceſs. Sphaerus was one of the principal diſciples of Zeno the Citiean †; and it ſeems that he admired the ſtrength of genius he found in Cleomenes, and added freſh incentives to his love of glory. We are informed, that, when Leonidas of old was aſked, "What he thought of the poetry of Tyrtaeus;" he ſaid, "I think it well calculated to excite the cou-
"rage of our youth; for the enthuſiaſm with which
"it inſpires them, makes them fear no danger in
"battle."

* This Sphaerus was born towards the end of the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and flouriſhed under that of Euergetes. Diogenes Laertius has given us a catalogue of his works, which were conſiderable. He was the ſcholar of Zeno, and afterwards of Cleanthes.

† He was ſo called, to diſtinguiſh him from Zeno of Elea, a city of Laconia, who flouriſhed about two hundred years after the death of Zeno the Citiean. Citium, of which the elder Zeno was a native, was a town in Cyprus.

"battle." So the ſtoic philoſophy * may put perſons of great and fiery ſpirits upon enterprizes that are too deſperate; but in thoſe of a grave and mild diſpoſition, it will produce all the good effects for which it was deſigned.

When Leonidas died, and Cleomenes came to the crown, he obſerved that all ranks of men were utterly corrupted. The rich had an eye only to private profit and pleaſure, and utterly neglected the public intereſt. The common people, on account of the meanneſs of their circumſtances, had no ſpirit for war, or ambition to inſtruct their children in the Spartan exerciſes. Cleomenes himſelf had only the name of king, while the power was in the hands of the *ephori*. He, therefore, ſoon began to think of changing the preſent poſture of affairs. He had a friend called Xenares, united to him by ſuch an affection as the Spartans called *inſpiration*. Him he firſt ſounded; enquiring of him what kind of prince Agis was; by what ſteps, and with what aſſociates, he came into the way he took. Xenares at firſt conſented readily enough to ſatisfy his curioſity, and gave him an exact narrative of all the proceedings. But when he found that Cleomenes intereſted himſelf deeply in the affair, and took ſuch an enthuſiaſtic pleaſure in the new ſchemes of Agis, as to deſire to hear them again and again, he reproved his diſtempered inclinations, and at laſt entirely left his company. However, he did not acquaint any one with the cauſe of their miſunderſtanding; but only ſaid, "Cleomenes knew very well." As Xenares ſo ſtrongly oppoſed the king's project, he thought others muſt be as little diſpoſed to come into it; and therefore he concerted the whole matter by himſelf. In the perſuaſion, that he could more eaſily effect his intended change in time of war than in peace, he embroiled his country with the Achaeans, who had indeed

* From its tendency to inſpire a contempt of death, and a belief in the agency of providence.

deed given ſufficient occaſion of complaint. For Aratus, who was the leading man among them, had laid it down as a principle, from the beginning of his adminiſtration, to reduce all Peloponneſus to one body. This was the end he had in view in his numerous expeditions, and in all the proceedings of government, during the many years that he held the reins in Achaia. And, indeed, he was of opinion, that this was the only way to ſecure Peloponneſus againſt its enemies without. He had ſucceeded with moſt of the ſtates of that Peninſula; the Lacedaemonians and Eleans, and ſuch of the Arcadians as were in the Lacedaemonian intereſt, were all that ſtood out. Upon the death of Leonidas, he commenced hoſtilities againſt the Arcadians, particularly thoſe who bordered upon the Achaeans; by this means deſigning to try how the Lacedaemonians ſtood inclined. As for Cleomenes, he deſpiſed him as a young man without experience.

The *ephori*, however, ſent Cleomenes to ſeize Athenaeum * near Belbina. This place is one of the keys of Laconia, and was then in diſpute between the Spartans and Megalopolitans. Cleomenes accordingly took it and fortified it. Aratus made no remonſtrance, but marched by night to ſurpriſe Tegea and Orchomenus. However, the perſons who had promiſed to betray thoſe places to him, found their hearts fail them, when it came to the point; and he retired, undiſcovered as he thought. Upon this, Cleomenes wrote to him, in a familiar way, deſiring to know "whither he marched "the night before." Aratus anſwered, "That, "underſtanding his deſign to fortify Belbina, the "intent of his laſt motion was to prevent that mea-"ſure." Cleomenes humorouſly replied, "I am "ſatisfied with the account of your march; but "ſhould be glad to know where thoſe torches and "ladders were marching."

Aratus

* A temple of Minerva.

Aratus could not help laughing at the jeſt; and he aſked what kind of man this young prince was. Democrates, a Lacedaemonian exile, anſwered, "If "you deſign to do any thing againſt the Spartans, "you muſt do it quickly, before the ſpurs of this "cockrel be grown."

Cleomenes, with a few horſe and three hundred foot, was now poſted in Arcadia. The *ephori*, apprehenſive of a war, commanded him home; and he obeyed. But finding that, in conſequence of this retreat, Aratus had taken Caphyae, they ordered him to take the field again. Cleomenes made himſelf maſter of Methydrium, and ravaged the territories of Argos. Whereupon the Achaeans marched againſt him with twenty thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, under the command of Ariſtomachus. Cleomenes met him at Palantium, and offered him battle. But Aratus, intimidated by this inſtance of the young prince's ſpirit, diſſuaded the general from engaging, and retreated. This retreat expoſed Aratus to reproach among the Achaeans, and to ſcorn and contempt among the Spartans, whoſe army conſiſted not of more than five thouſand men. Cleomenes, elevated with this ſucceſs, began to talk in a higher tone among the people, and bade them remember an expreſſion of one of their ancient kings, who ſaid, "The Lacedaemonians "ſeldom enquired the number of their enemies, but "the place where they could be found."

After this, he went to the aſſiſtance of the Eleans, againſt whom the Achaeans had now turned their arms. He attacked the latter at Lycaeum, as they were upon the retreat, and put them entirely to the rout; not only ſpreading terror through their whole army, but killing great numbers, and making many priſoners. It was even reported among the Greeks, that Aratus was of the number of the ſlain. Aratus, availing himſelf in the beſt manner of the opportunity, with the troops that attended him in his flight,

marched immediately to Mantinea, and coming upon it by ſurpriſe, took it, and ſecured it for the Achaeans.

The Lacedaemonians, greatly diſpirited at this loſs, oppoſed Cleomenes in his inclination for war. He, therefore, bethought himſelf of calling Archidamus, the brother of Agis, from Meſſene, to whom, in the other family, the crown belonged. For he imagined that the power of the *ephori* would not be ſo formidable, when the kingly government, according to the Spartan conſtitution, was complete, and had its proper weight in the ſcale. The party that had put Agis to death, perceiving this, and dreading vengeance from Archidamus, if he ſhould be eſtabliſhed on the throne, took this method to prevent it. They joined in inviting him to come privately to Sparta, and even aſſiſted him in his return; but they aſſaſſinated him immediately after. Whether it was againſt the conſent of Cleomenes, as Phylarchus thinks, or whether his friends perſuaded him to abandon that unhappy prince, we cannot take upon us to ſay. The greateſt part of the blame, however, fell upon thoſe friends, who, if he gave his conſent, were ſuppoſed to have teazed him into it.

By this time he was reſolved to carry his intended changes into immediate execution; and therefore he bribed the *ephori* to permit him to renew the war. He gained alſo many others by the aſſiſtance of his mother Crateſiclea, who liberally ſupplied him with money, and joined in his ſchemes of glory. Nay, it is ſaid, that, though diſinclined to marry again, for her ſon's ſake ſhe accepted a man who had great intereſt and authority among the people.

One of his firſt operations was, the going to ſeize Leuctra, which is a place within the dependencies of Megalopolis. The Achaeans haſtened to its relief, under the command of Aratus; and a battle

was fought under the walls, in which part of the Lacedaemonian army was beaten. But Aratus ſtopping the purſuit at a defile which was in the way, Lyſiadas *, the Megalopolitan, offended at the order, encouraged the cavalry under his command to purſue the advantage they had gained; by which means he entangled them among vineyards, ditches, and other incloſures, where they were forced to break their ranks, and fell into great diſorder. Cleomenes, ſeeing his opportunity, commanded the Tarentines and Cretans to fall upon them; and Lyſiadas, after great exertions of valour, was defeated and ſlain. The Lacedæmonians thus encouraged, returned to the action with ſhouts of joy, and routed the whole Achaean army. After a conſiderable carnage, a truce was granted the ſurvivors, and they were permitted to bury their dead; but Cleomenes ordered the body of Lyſiadas to be brought to him. He clothed it in robes of purple, and put a crown upon its head; and, in this attire, he ſent it to the gates of Megalopolis. This was that Lyſiadas who reſtored liberty to the city in which he was an abſolute prince, and united it to the Achaean league.

Cleomenes, greatly elated with this victory, thought, if matters were once entirely at his diſpoſal in Sparta, the Achaeans would no longer be able to ſtand before him. For this reaſon he endeavoured to convince his father-in-law Megiſtonus, that the yoke of the *ephori* ought to be broken, and an equal diviſion of property to be made; by means of which equality Sparta would reſume her ancient valour, and once more riſe to the empire of Greece. Megiſtonus complied, and the king then took two or three other friends into the ſcheme.

About that time, one of the *ephori* had a ſurpriſing dream, as he ſlept in the temple of Paſiphae. He thought, that, in the court where the *ephori* uſed to

* In the text it is *Lydiadas*. But Polybius calls him *Lyſiadas*; and ſo does Plutarch in another place.

ſit for the diſpatch of buſineſs, four chairs were taken away, and only one left. And as he was wondering at the change, he heard a voice from the ſanctuary, which ſaid, "This is beſt for Sparta." The magiſtrate related this viſion of his to Cleomenes, who at firſt was greatly diſconcerted, thinking that ſome ſuſpicion had led him to ſound his intentions. But when he found that there was no fiction in the caſe, he was the more confirmed in his purpoſe; and taking with him ſuch of the citizens as he thought moſt likely to oppoſe it, he marched againſt Heraea and Alſaea, two cities belonging to the Achaean league, and took them. After this, he laid in ſtore of proviſions at Orchomenus, and then beſieged Mantinea. At laſt he ſo harraſſed the Lacedaemonians by a variety of long marches, that moſt of them deſired to be left in Arcadia; and he returned to Sparta with the mercenaries only. By the way he communicated his deſign to ſuch of them as he believed moſt attached to his intereſt, and advanced ſlowly, that he might come upon the *ephori* as they were at ſupper.

When he approached the town, he ſent Euryclidas before him to the hall where thoſe magiſtrates uſed to ſup, upon pretence of his being charged with ſome meſſage relative to the army. He was accompanied by Thericion and Phoebis, and two other young men who had been educated with Cleomenes, and whom the Spartans call *Samothracians* *. Theſe were at the head of a ſmall party. While Euryclidas was holding the *ephori* in diſcourſe, the others ran upon them

* All the commentators agree that Σαμοθρακας is a corruption. Palmerius propoſes to read Πυθιας, *Pythians*. So at Sparta they called two perſons whom the king ſent to conſult the oracle of Apollo, and who uſed to eat at the king's table. But Πυθιας is very diſtant in ſound from Σαμοθρακας. The editor of the former Engliſh tranſlation, propoſes, by no means unhappily, to read ὁμοθραττας, which is ſynonymous to συντροφους. Proper regard ought to be paid, too, to the conjecture of Bryan and Du Soul, who offer us Σαμαντορας. This ſignifies *perſons who give the ſignal of battle, praefects, generals.*

them with their drawn ſwords. They were all ſlain but Ageſilaus, and he was then thought to have ſhared the ſame fate; for he was the firſt man that fell: but in a little time he conveyed himſelf ſilently out of the room, and crept into a little building which was the temple of FEAR. This temple was generally ſhut up, but then happened to be open. When he was got in, he immediately barred the door. The other four were diſpatched outright; and ſo were above ten more who came to their aſſiſtance. Thoſe who remained quiet, received no harm; nor were any hindered from departing the city. Nay, Ageſilaus himſelf was ſpared, when he came the next day out of the temple.

The Lacedaemonians have not only temples dedicated to FEAR, but alſo to DEATH, to LAUGHTER, and many of the paſſions. Nor do they pay homage to *fear*, as one of the noxious and deſtroying dæmons, but they conſider it as the beſt cement of ſociety. Hence it was, that the *ephori*, (as Ariſtotle tells us) when they entered upon their office, cauſed proclamation to be made, that the people ſhould ſhave their upper lip, and be obedient to the laws, that they might not be under the neceſſity of having recourſe to ſeverity. As for the ſhaving of the upper lip, in my opinion, all the deſign of that injunction is, to teach the youth obedience in the ſmalleſt matters. And it ſeems to me, that the ancients did not think that valour conſiſts in an exemption from fear; but on the contrary, in the fear of reproach, and the dread of infamy. For thoſe who ſtand moſt in fear of the law, act with the greateſt intrepidity againſt the enemy; and they who are moſt tender of their reputation, look with the leaſt concern upon other dangers. Therefore one of the poets ſaid well,

Ingenuous ſhame reſides with fear.

Hence Homer makes Helen ſay to her father-in-law, Priamus,

Before thy preſence, father, I appear
With conſcious ſhame and reverential fear. POPE.

And, in another place, he ſays, the Grecian troops

With fear and ſilence on their chiefs attend.

For reverence, in vulgar minds, is generally the concomitant of fear. And, therefore, the Lacedaemonians placed the temple of FEAR near the hall where the *ephori* uſed to eat, to ſhew that their authority was nearly equal to the regal.

Next day Cleomenes proſcribed eighty of the citizens, whom he thought it neceſſary to expel; and he removed all the ſeats of the *ephori* except one, in which he deſigned to ſit himſelf, to hear cauſes, and diſpatch other buſineſs. Then he aſſembled the people, in order to explain and defend what he had done. His ſpeech was to this effect. "The adminiſtration was put by Lycurgus in the hands of "the kings and the ſenate; and Sparta was governed "by them a long time, without any occaſion for "other magiſtrates. But, as the Meſſenian war "was drawn out to a great length, and the kings, "having the armies to command, had not leiſure to "attend to the deciſion of cauſes at home, they "pitched upon ſome of their friends to be left as "their deputies, for that purpoſe, under the title of "*ephori*, or *inſpectors*. At firſt they behaved as ſubſtitutes and ſervants to the kings; but, by little "and little, they got the power into their own "hands, and inſenſibly erected their office into an "independent magiſtracy *. A proof of this, is a "a cuſtom which has obtained till this time, that, "when the *ephori* ſent for the king, he refuſed to "hearken

* When the authority of the kings was grown too enormous, Theopompus found it neceſſary to curb it by the inſtitution of the *Ephori*. But they were not as Cleomenes ſays; they were, in their firſt eſtabliſhment, miniſters to the kings.

" hearken to the firſt and ſecond meſſage, and did
" not attend them till they ſent a third. Aſteropus
" was the firſt of the *ephori*, who raiſed their office to
" that height of authority many ages after their
" creation. While they kept within the bounds of
" moderation, it was better to endure than to re-
" move them; but when, by their uſurpations,
" they deſtroyed the ancient form of government,
" when they depoſed ſome kings, put others to
" death without any form of trial, and threatened
" thoſe princes who deſire to ſee the divine conſti-
" tution of their country in its original luſtre, they
" became abſolutely inſupportable. Had it been
" poſſible, without the ſhedding of blood, to have
" exterminated thoſe peſts which they had introduced
" into Lacedaemon; ſuch as luxury, ſuperfluous
" expence, debts, uſury, and thoſe more ancient
" evils, poverty and riches, I ſhould then have
" thought myſelf the happieſt of kings. In curing
" the diſtempers of my country, I ſhould have been
" conſidered as the phyſician whoſe lenient hand
" heals without giving pain. But for what neceſſity
" has obliged me to do, I have the authority of Ly-
" curgus, who, though neither king nor magiſtrate,
" but only a private man, took upon him to act as a
" king *, and appeared publicly in arms. The con-
" ſequence of which was, that Charilaus, the
" reigning prince, in great conſternation, fled to
" the altar. But being a mild and patriotic king,
" he ſoon entered into the deſigns of Lycurgus, and
" accepted his new form of government. There-
" fore, the proceedings of Lycurgus are an evi-
" dence, that it is next to impoſſible to new-model
" a conſtitution without the terror of an armed
" force. For my own part, I have applied that re-

* Lycurgus never aſſumed or aſpired to regal authority; and Cleomenes mentions this only to take off the odium from himſelf.

" medy with great moderation; only ridding my-
" ſelf of ſuch as oppoſed the true intereſt of Lace-
" daemon. Among the reſt, I ſhall make a diſtri-
" bution of all the lands, and clear the people of
" their debts. Among the ſtrangers, I ſhall ſe-
" lect ſome of the beſt and ableſt, that they may be
" admitted citizens of Sparta, and protect her with
" their arms; and that we may no longer ſee La-
" conia a prey to the Ætolians and Illyrians for
" want of a ſufficient number of inhabitants con-
" cerned for it's defence."

When he had finiſhed his ſpeech, he was the firſt to ſurrender his own eſtate into the public ſtock. His father-in-law Megiſtonus, and his other friends, followed his example. The reſt of the citizens did the ſame; and then the land was divided. He even aſſigned lots for each of the perſons whom he had driven into exile; and declared that they ſhould all be recalled when tranquility had once more taken place. Having filled up the number of citizens out of the beſt of the inhabitants of the neighbouring countries, he raiſed a body of four thouſand foot, whom he taught to uſe the two-handed pike inſtead of the javelin, and to hold their ſhields by a handle, and not by a ring as before. Then he applied himſelf to the education of the youth, and formed them with all the ſtrictneſs of the Lacedaemonian diſcipline; in the courſe of which he was much aſſiſted by Sphaerus. Their ſchools of exerciſe, and their refectories, were ſoon brought into that good order, which they had of old; ſome being reduced to it by compulſion, but the greateſt part coming voluntarily into that noble training peculiar to Sparta. However, to prevent any offence that might be taken at the name of monarchy, he made his brother Euclidas his partner in the throne; and this was the only time that the Spartans had two kings of the ſame family.

He obſerved that the Achaeans, and Aetus, the principal man among them, were perſuaded that the late

late change had brought the Spartan affairs into a doubtful and unſettled ſtate; and that he would not quit the city while it was in ſuch a ferment. He therefore thought it would have both its honour and utility, to ſhew the enemy how readily his troops would obey him. In conſequence of which he entered the Megalopolitan territories, where he ſpread deſolation, and made a very conſiderable booty. In one of his laſt marches, he ſeized a company of comedians who were on the road from Meſſene; upon which, he built a ſtage in the enemy's country; propoſed a prize of forty *minae* to the beſt performer, and ſpent one day in ſeeing them. Not that he ſet any great value on ſuch diverſions, but he did it by way of inſult upon the enemy, to ſhew his ſuperiority by this mark of contempt. For, among the Grecian and royal armies, his was the only one which had not a train of players, juglers, ſingers, and dancers, of both ſexes. No intemperance or buffoonery, no public ſhows or feaſts, except on the late occaſion, were ever ſeen in his camp. The young men paſſed the greateſt part of their time in their exerciſes, and the old men in teaching them. The hours of leiſure were amuſed with chearful diſcourſe, which had all the ſmartneſs of Laconic repartee. This kind of amuſement had thoſe advantages which we have mentioned in the life of Lycurgus.

The king himſelf was the beſt teacher. Plain and ſimple in his equipage and diet, aſſuming no manner of pomp above a common citizen, he ſet a glorious example of ſobriety. This was no ſmall advantage to his affairs in Greece. When the Greeks addreſſed themſelves to other kings, they did not ſo much admire their wealth and magnificence, as execrate their pride and ſpirit of oſtentation; their difficulty of acceſs and harſhneſs of behaviour to all who had buſineſs at their courts. But when they applied to Cleomenes, who not only bore the title,

but had all the great qualities of a king, they ſaw no purple or robes of ſtate, no rich carriages, no gauntlet of pages or door-keepers to be run. Nor had they their anſwer, after great difficulties, from the mouth of ſecretaries *; but they found him in an ordinary habit, ready to meet them and offer them his hand. He received them with a chearful countenance, and entered into their buſineſs with the utmoſt eaſe and freedom. This engaging manner gained their hearts; and they declared he was the only worthy deſcendant of Hercules.

His common ſupper was ſhort and truly Laconic. There were only couches for three people; but when he entertained ambaſſadors or ſtrangers, two more couches were added, and the table was a little better furniſhed by the ſervants. Not that any curious deſert was added; only the diſhes were larger, and the wine more generous. For he blamed one of his friends for ſetting nothing before ſtrangers but the coarſe cake and black broth, which they eat in their common refectories. "When we have ſtrangers "to entertain," ſaid he, "we need not be ſuch "very exact Lacedaemonians." After ſupper, a three-legged ſtand † was brought in, upon which were placed a braſs ‡ bowl full of wine, two ſilver pots that held about a § pint and a half a piece, and a few cups of the ſame metal. Such of the gueſts as were inclined to drink, made uſe of theſe veſſels, for the cup was not preſſed upon any man againſt his will. There was no muſic or other extrinſic amuſement; nor was any ſuch thing wanted. He entertained his company very agreeably with his own converſation; ſometimes aſking queſtions, and ſometimes telling ſtories. His ſerious diſcourſe was perfectly free from moroſeneſs; and his mirth from petulance

* In the text it is γραμματων, *by billets*; but probably it ſhould be read γραμματεων, *ſecretaries*, there being no inſtances in antiquity that have come to our knowledge, of anſwers in writing to a perſonal application.

† τριπους. ‡ κρατηρ. § δικοτυλες.

tulance and ruſticity. The arts which other princes uſed of drawing men to their purpoſe by bribery and corruption, he looked upon as both iniquitous and impolitic. But to engage and fix people in his intereſt by the charms of converſation, without fraud or guile, appeared to him an honourable method, and worthy of a king. For he thought this the true difference between a hireling and a friend; that the one is gained by money, and the other by an obliging behaviour.

The Mantineans were the firſt who applied for his aſſiſtance. They admitted him into their city in the night; and having with his help expelled the Achaean garriſon, put themſelves under his protection. He re-eſtabliſhed their laws and ancient form of government, and retired the ſame day to Tegea. From thence he fetched a compaſs through Arcadia, and marched down to Pherae in Achaia; intending by this movement either to bring the Achaeans to a battle, or make them look upon Aratus in a mean light, for giving up the country, as it were, to his deſtroying ſword.

Hyperbatas was indeed general at that time, but Aratus had all the authority. The Achaeans aſſembled their forces, and encamped at Dymeae* near Hecatomboeum; upon which, Cleomenes marched up to them, though it was thought a raſh ſtep for him to take poſt between Dymaeae which belonged to the enemy, and the Achaean camp. However, he boldly challenged the Achaeans, and, indeed, forced them to battle, in which he entirely defeated them, killed great numbers upon the ſpot, and took many priſoners. Lango was his next object, from which he expelled an Achaean garriſon, and then put the town in the hands of the Eleans.

When

* Polybius calls it Dymae.

When the Achaean affairs were in this ruinous ſtate, Aratus, who uſed to be general every other year*, refuſed the command, though they preſſed him ſtrongly to accept it. But certainly it was wrong, when ſuch a ſtorm was raging, to quit the helm, and leave the direction to another. The firſt commands of Cleomenes appeared to the Achaean deputies † moderate enough; afterwards he inſiſted on having the command himſelf. In other matters, he ſaid, he ſhould not differ with them, for he would reſtore them both the priſoners and their lands. The Achaeans agreed to a pacification on theſe conditions, and invited Cleomenes to Lerna, where a general aſſembly of their ſtate was to be held. But Cleomenes haſtening his march too much, heated himſelf, and then very imprudently drank cold water; the conſequence of which was, that he threw up a great quantity of blood, and loſt the uſe of his ſpeech. He therefore ſent the Achaeans the moſt reſpectable of the priſoners, and putting off the meeting, retired to Lacedaemon.

This ruined the affairs of Greece. Had it not been for this, ſhe might have recovered out of her preſent diſtreſs, and have maintained herſelf againſt the inſolence and rapaciouſneſs of the Macedonians. Aratus either feared and diſtruſted Cleomenes, or envied his unexpected ſucceſs. He thought it intolerable that a young man newly ſprung up ſhould rob

* Ειωθως παρ ενιαυτον αει στρατηγειν. The former Engliſh tranſlator renders this, *who uſed to continue general two years together*; and Dacier, to the ſame ſenſe, *qui avoit accoutumé d'être capitaine general tous les deux ans*. But they are both under a great miſtake. παρ' ενιαυτον does certainly ſignify *every other year*. So in Polybius, παρα τεταρτην ἡμεραν, *every fourth day*; and in Ariſtotle, παρα μηνα τριτον, *every third month*.

† The two French tranſlators, and the Engliſh one employed by Tonſon, change μετρια here into ἀ μετρια, without any neceſſity, or pretence of authority for it. We do not ſee why Cleomenes might not, in the firſt conditions he propoſed, poſſibly demand ſomething leſs of the Achaeans than their allowing him to be commander in chief, and governor of all Greece.

rob him at once of the honour and power which he had been in poſſeſſion of for three-and-thirty years, and come into a government which had been growing ſo long under his auſpices. For this reaſon, he firſt tried what his intereſt and powers of perſuaſion would do to keep the Achaeans from cloſing with Cleomenes; but they were prevented from attending to him, by their admiration of the great ſpirit of Cleomenes, and their opinion that the demands of the Spartans were not unreaſonable, who only deſired to bring Peloponneſus back to its ancient model. Aratus then undertook a thing which would not have become any man in Greece, but in him was particularly diſhonourable, and unworthy of all his former conduct both in the cabinet and the field. He called Antigonus into Greece, and filled Peloponneſus with Macedonians, though in his youth he had expelled them, and reſcued the citadel of Corinth out of their hands. He was even an enemy to all kings, and was equally hated by them. Antigonus, in particular, he loaded with a thouſand reproaches, as appears from the writings he has left behind him *. He boaſts that he had encountered and overcome innumerable difficulties, in order to deliver Athens from a Macedonian garriſon; and yet he brought thoſe very Macedonians, armed as they were, into his own country, into his own houſe, and even into the women's apartment. At the ſame time, he could not bear that a Spartan king, a deſcendant of Hercules, who wanted only to reſtore the ancient polity of his country, to correct its broken harmony, and bring it back to the ſober Doric tone † which Lycurgus had given it; he could not bear that ſuch a prince ſhould be declared general of the Sicyonians and

* Aratus wrote a hiſtory of the Achæans, and of his own conduct.

† The muſic, like the architecture, of the Dorians, was remarkable for its ſimplicity.

and Triecaeans *. While he avoided the coarſe cake and the ſhort cloak; and what he thought the greateſt grievance in the whole ſyſtem of Cleomenes, the aboliſhing of riches, and the making poverty a more ſupportable thing, he made Achaia truckle to the diadem and purple of Macedonians, of Aſiatic grandees. To ſhun the appearance of ſubmiſſion to Cleomenes, he offered ſacrifices to the divinity of Antigonus, and with a garland on his head ſung *paeans* in honour of a rotten Macedonian. Theſe things we ſay not in accuſation of Aratus (for in many reſpects he was a great man and worthy of Greece) we mean only to point out with compaſſion the weakneſs of human nature, which, in diſpoſitions the beſt formed to virtue, can produce no excellence without ſome taint of imperfection.

When the Achaeans aſſembled again at Argos, and Cleomenes came down from Tegea to meet them, the Greeks entertained great hopes of peace. But Aratus, who had already ſettled the principal points with Antigonus, fearing that Cleomenes, either by his obliging manner of treating, or by force, would gain all he wanted of the people, propoſed, "That he ſhould take three hundred hoſtages for the ſecurity of his perſon, and enter the town alone; or, if he did not approve of that propoſal, ſhould come to the place of exerciſe without the walls, called *Cyllarabium* †, and treat there, at the head of his army." Cleomenes remonſtrated that theſe proceedings were very unjuſt. He ſaid, "They ſhould have made him theſe propoſals at firſt, and not now, when he was come to their gates, diſtruſt and ſhut him out." He therefore wrote the Achaeans a letter on this ſubject, almoſt filled with complaints of Aratus; and the applications

* This, probably, ſhould be Tritæans. Tritea was a city of Phocis, and comprehended in the league; but Tricca, which was in Theſſaly, could hardly be ſo.

† From Cyllarabus, the ſon of Sthenelus.

plications of Aratus to the people were little more than invectives againſt the king of Sparta. The conſequence of this was, that the latter quickly retired, and ſent a herald to declare war againſt the Achaeans. This herald, according to Aratus, was ſent not to Argos, but to Ægium *, in order that the Achaeans might be entirely unprepared.

There were at this time great commotions among the members of the Achaean league; and many towns were ready to fall off. For the common people hoped for an equal diſtribution of lands, and to have their debts cancelled; while the better ſort in general were diſpleaſed at Aratus, and ſome of them highly provoked at his bringing the Macedonians into Peloponneſus.

Encouraged by theſe miſunderſtandings, Cleomenes entered Achaia; where he firſt took Pellene by ſurpriſe, and diſlodged the Achaean garriſon. Afterwards he made himſelf maſter of Pheneum and Penteleum. As the Achaeans were apprehenſive of a revolt at Corinth and Sicyon, they ſent a body of cavalry and ſome mercenaries from Argos to guard againſt any meaſures tending that way, and went themſelves to celebrate the Nemean games at Argos. Upon this, Cleomenes hoping, what really proved the caſe, that, if he could come ſuddenly upon the city, while it was filled with multitudes aſſembled to partake of the diverſions, he ſhould throw all into the greateſt confuſion, marched up to the walls by night, and ſeized the quarter called *Aſpis*, which lay above the theatre, notwithſtanding its difficulty of acceſs. This ſtruck them with ſuch terror, that not a man thought of making any reſiſtance; they agreed to receive a garriſon, and gave twenty of the citizens as hoſtages for their acting as allies to Sparta, and

* This was a maritime town of Achaia, on the Corinthian Bay. The intention of Cleomenes was to take it by ſurpriſe, before the inhabitants could have intelligence of the war.

and following the ſtandard of Cleomenes as their general.

This action added greatly to the fame and authority of that prince. For the ancient kings of Sparta, with all their endeavours, could never fix Argos in their intereſt; and Pyrrhus, one of the ableſt generals in the world, though he forced his way into the town, could not hold it, but loſt his life in the attempt, and had great part of his army cut in pieces. Hence, the diſpatch and keenneſs of Cleomenes were the more admired; and they, who before had laughed at him for declaring he would tread in the ſteps of Solon and Lycurgus in the cancelling of debts, and in an equal diviſion of property, were now fully perſuaded that he was the ſole cauſe of all the change in the ſpirit and ſucceſs of the Spartans. In both reſpects they were ſo contemptible before, and ſo little able to help themſelves, that the Ætolians made an inroad into Laconia, and carried off fifty thouſand ſlaves. On which occaſion, one of the old Spartans ſaid, "The enemy had done them a kind-"neſs, in taking ſuch a heavy charge off their "hands." Yet they had no ſooner returned to their primitive cuſtoms and diſcipline, than, as if Lycurgus himſelf had reſtored his polity, and invigorated it with his preſence, they had given the moſt extraordinary inſtances of valour and obedience to their magiſtrates, in raiſing Sparta to its ancient ſuperiority in Greece, and recovering Peloponneſus.

Cleonae and Phlius * came in the ſame tide of ſucceſs with Argos. Aratus was then making an inquiſition at Corinth into the conduct of ſuch as were reported to be in the Lacedaemonian intereſt. But when the news of the late loſſes reached him, and he found that the city was falling off to Cleomenes, and wanted to get rid of the Achaeans †, he was

* Towns between Argos and Corinth.

† In the printed text it is, Αχαιων απαλλαγηναι Κυλλοιεων, and the Latin and French tranſlators have followed it; rendering it

was not a little alarmed. In this confuſion he could think of no better expedient, than that of calling the citizens to council, and, in the mean time, he ſtole away to the gate. A horſe being ready for him there, he mounted, and fled to Sicyon. The Corinthians were in ſuch haſte to pay their compliments to Cleomenes, that, Aratus tells us, they killed or ſpoiled all their horſes. He acquaints us alſo, that Cleomenes highly blamed the people of Corinth for ſuffering him to eſcape. Nevertheleſs, he adds, that Megiſtonus came to him on the part of that prince, and offered to give him large ſums if he would deliver up the citadel of Corinth, where he had an Achaean garriſon. He anſwered, "That affairs did "not then depend upon him, but he muſt be go-"verned by their circumſtances." So Aratus himſelf writes.

Cleomenes, in his march from Argos, added the Troezenians, the Epidaurians and Hermionians to the number of his friends and allies, and then went to Corinth, and drew a line of circumvallation about the citadel, which the Achaeans refuſed to ſurrender. However, he ſent for the friends and ſtewards of Aratus, and ordered them to take care of his houſe and effects in that city. He likewiſe ſent again to that general by Tritymallus the Meſſenian, and propoſed that the citadel ſhould be garriſoned half with Achaeans and half with Lacedaemonians; offering, at the ſame time, to double the penſion he had from Ptolemy king of Egypt. As Aratus, inſtead of accepting theſe conditions, ſent his ſon and other hoſtages to Antigonus, and perſuaded the Achaeans to give order that the citadel of Corinth ſhould be put in the hands of that prince, Cleomenes immediately ravaged the territories of Sicyon, and in

 purſuance

it to this ſenſe, *and the Achaeans were haſtening home:* but two manuſcripts give us κελομενην. which is to be referred to πολιν before; and, with the former Engliſh tranſlator, we chuſe to follow that reading.

purſuance of a decree of the Corinthians, ſeized on the whole eſtate of Aratus. After Antigonus had paſſed Geranſa *, with a great army, Cleomenes thought it more adviſeable to fortify the Onæan mountains †, than the Iſthmus, and by the advantage of his poſt to tire out the Macedonians, rather than hazard a pitched battle with a Veteran Phalanx. Antigonus was greatly perplexed at this plan of operations. For he had neither laid in a ſufficient quantity of proviſions, nor could he eaſily force the paſs by which Cleomenes had ſate down. He attempted one night, indeed, to get into Peloponneſus by the port of Lechaeum ‡, but was repulſed with loſs.

Cleomenes was much encouraged with this ſucceſs, and his troops went to their evening's refreſhment with pleaſure. Antigonus, on the other hand, was extremely diſpirited; for he ſaw himſelf in ſo difficult a ſituation, that it was ſcarce poſſible to find any reſources, which were not extremely difficult. At laſt he determined to move to the promontory of Heraeum, and from thence to tranſport his troops in boats to Sicyon: but that required a great deal of time, and very conſiderable preparations. However, the evening after, ſome of the friends of Aratus arrived from Argos by ſea, being ſent to acquaint him that the Argives were revolting from Cleomenes, and to invite him to that city. Ariſtotle was the author of the defection; and he had found no great difficulty in perſuading the people into it, becauſe Cleomenes had not cancelled their debts, as he had given them room to hope. Upon this, Aratus, with fifteen hundred men whom he had from Antigonus, ſailed to Epidaurus. But Ariſtotle, not waiting for him, aſſembled the townſmen, and, with the aſſiſtance

* A mountain between Megara and Corinth.

† This range of mountains extends from the Scironian rocks, on the road to Attica, as far as Mount Citheron. Strab. L. viii. They were called ὄρη ονεια, the mountains of aſſes.

‡ One of the harbours at Corinth.

ance of Timoxenus and a party of Achaeans from Sicyon, attacked the citadel.

Cleomenes getting intelligence of this about the ſecond watch of the night, ſent for Megiſtonus, and, in an angry tone, ordered him to the relief of Argos. For he it was who had principally undertaken for the obedience of the Argives, and, by that means, prevented the expulſion of ſuch as were ſuſpected. Having diſpatched Megiſtonus upon this buſineſs, the Spartan prince watched the motions of Antigonus, and endeavoured to diſpel the fears of the Corinthians, aſſuring them it was no great thing that had happened at Argos, but only an inconſiderable tumult. Megiſtonus got into Argos, and was ſlain in a ſkirmiſh there; the garriſon were hard preſſed, and meſſenger after meſſenger ſent to Cleomenes. Upon this, he was afraid that the enemy, after they had made themſelves maſters of Argos, would block up the paſſages againſt him, and then go and ravage Laconia at their pleaſure, and beſiege Sparta itſelf, which was left without defence. He therefore decamped from Corinth; the conſequence of which was the loſs of the town; for Antigonus immediately entered it, and placed a garriſon there. In the mean time, Cleomenes, having collected his forces which were ſcattered in their march, attempted to ſcale the walls of Argos; but, failing in that enterprize, he broke open the vaults under the quarter called *Aſpis*, gained an entrance that way, and joined his garriſon, which ſtill held out againſt the Achaeans. After this, he took ſome other quarters of the city by aſſault; and ordering his Cretan archers to ply their bows, cleared the ſtreets of the enemy. But when he ſaw Antigonus deſcending with his infantry from the heights into the plain, and his cavalry already pouring into the city, he thought it impoſſible to maintain his poſt. He had now no other reſource but to collect all his men, and retire along the walls, which he accordingly did without loſs. Thus, after

atchieving the greateſt things in a ſhort ſpace of time, and making himſelf maſter of almoſt all Peloponneſus in one campaign, he loſt all in leſs time than he gained it; ſome cities immediately withdrawing from his alliance, and others ſurrendering themſelves not long after to Antigonus.

Such was the ill ſucceſs of this expedition. And what was no leſs a misfortune, as he was marching home, meſſengers from Lacedaemon met him in the evening near Tegea, and informed him of the death of his wife. His affection and eſteem for Agiatis was ſo great, that, amidſt the current of his happieſt ſucceſs, he could not ſtay from her a whole campaign, but often repaired to Sparta. No wonder, then, that a young man, deprived of ſo beautiful and virtuous a wife, was extremely affected with the loſs. Yet his ſorrow did not debaſe the dignity of his mind. He ſpoke in the ſame accent; he preſerved the ſame dreſs and look; he gave his orders to his officers, and provided for the ſecurity of Tegea.

Next morning he entered Lacedaemon, and after paying a proper tribute to grief at home with his mother and his children, he applied himſelf to the concerns of ſtate. Ptolemy, king of Egypt, agreed to furniſh him with ſuccours; but it was on condition that he ſent him his mother and children as hoſtages. This circumſtance he knew not how to communicate to his mother; and he often attempted to mention it to her, but could not go forward. She began to ſuſpect that there was ſomething which he was afraid to open to her; and ſhe aſked his friends what it might be. At laſt he ventured to tell her; upon which, ſhe laughed very pleaſantly, and ſaid, "Was "this the thing which you have ſo long heſitated to "expreſs? Why do not you immediately put us on "board a ſhip, and ſend this carcaſe of mine where "you think it may be of moſt uſe to Sparta, be"fore age renders it good for nothing, and ſinks it "into the grave?"

When

When every thing was prepared for the voyage, they went by land to Taenarus; the army conducting them to that port. Crateſiclea being on the point of taking ſhip, took Cleomenes alone into the temple of Neptune, where ſeeing him in great emotion and concern, ſhe threw her arms about him, and ſaid, "King of Sparta, take care that when we go "out, no one perceive us weeping, or doing any "thing unworthy that glorious place. This alone "is in our power; the event is in the hands of "God." After ſhe had given him this advice, and compoſed her countenance, ſhe went on board, with her little grandſon in her arms, and ordered the pilot to put to ſea as ſoon as poſſible.

Upon her arrival in Egypt, ſhe underſtood that Ptolemy had received ambaſſadors from Antigonus, and ſeemed to liſten to his propoſals; and, on the other hand, ſhe was informed that Cleomenes, though invited by the Achaeans to a pacification, was afraid, on her account, to put an end to the war, without Ptolemy's conſent. In this difficulty ſhe wrote to her ſon, to deſire him "to do what he thought moſt ad-"vantageous and honourable for Sparta, and not "for the ſake of an old woman and a child, to live "always in fear of Ptolemy." So great was the behavior of Crateſiclea under adverſe fortune.

After Antigonus had taken Tegea, and plundered Orchomanus and Mantinea, Cleomenes, now ſhut up within the bounds of Laconia, enfranchiſed ſuch of the *helots* as could pay five attic *minae* for their liberty. By this expedient he raiſed fifty talents; and having, moreover, armed and trained in the Macedonian manner two thouſand of thoſe *helots*, whom he deſigned to oppoſe to the *Leucaſpides* of Antigonus, he engaged in a great and unexpected enterprize. Megalopolis was at that time as great and powerful a city as Sparta. It was ſupported, beſides, by the Achaeans and Antigonus, whoſe troops lay on each ſide of it. Indeed, the Megalopolitans

were the foremoſt and moſt eager of all the Achaeans in their application to Antigonus. This city, however, Cleomenes reſolved to ſurprize; for which purpoſe he ordered his men to take five days proviſions, and led them to Sellaſia, as if he deſigned an inroad into the territories of Argos. But he turned ſhort, and entered thoſe of Megalopolis; and, after having refreſhed his troops at Rhoetium, he marched, by Helicon *, directly to the object he had in view. When he was near it, he ſent Panteus before with two companies of Lacedaemonians, to ſeize that part of the wall which was between the two towers, and which he underſtood to be the leaſt guarded. He followed with the reſt of his army at the common pace. Panteus finding not only that quarter, but great part of the wall without defence, pulled it down in ſome places, undermined it in others, and put all the ſentinels to the ſword. While he was thus employed, Cleomenes came up, and entered the city with his forces, before the Megalopolitans knew of his approach.

They were no ſooner appriſed of the misfortune which had befallen them, than the greateſt part left the city, taking their money and moſt valuable effects with them. The reſt made a ſtand, and though they could not diſlodge the enemy, yet their reſiſtance gave their fellow-citizens opportunity to eſcape. There remained not above a thouſand men in the town, all the reſt having retired to Meſſene, with their wives and children, before there was any poſſibility of purſuing them. A conſiderable part even of thoſe who had armed and fought in defence of the city got off, and very few were taken priſoners. Of this number were Lyſandridas and Thearidas, two perſons of great name and authority in Megalopolis. As they were ſuch reſpectable men, the ſoldiers

* Lubinus thinks it ought to be read Heliſſon, there being no ſuch place as Helicon in Arcadia.

ſoldiers carried them before Cleomenes. Lyſandridas no ſooner ſaw Cleomenes than he thus addreſſed him. "Now," ſaid he in a loud voice, becauſe it was at a diſtance, "now, king of Sparta, you have "opportunity to do an action much more glorious "and princely than the late one, and to acquire im-"mortal honour." Cleomenes gueſſing at his aim, made anſwer; "You would not have me re-"ſtore you the town?" "That is the very thing," ſaid Lyſandridas, "I would propoſe. I adviſe you, "by all means, not to deſtroy ſo fine a city, but to "fill it with firm friends and faithful allies, by re-"ſtoring the Megalopolitans to their country, and "becoming the ſaviour of ſo conſiderable a people." Cleomenes pauſed awhile, and then replied, "This "is hard to believe; but be it as it will, let glory "with us have always greater weight than intereſt." In conſequence of this determination, he ſent the two men to Meſſene, with a herald in his own name, to make the Megalopolitans an offer of their town, on condition that they would renounce the Achaeans, and declare themſelves his friends and allies.

Though Cleomenes made ſo gracious and humane a propoſal, Philopoemen would not ſuffer the Megalapolitans to accept it, or to quit the Achaean league*, but aſſuring them that the king of Sparta, inſtead of inclining to reſtore them their city, wanted to get the citizens too into his power, he forced Thearidas and Lyſandridas to leave Meſſene. This is that Philopoemen, who afterwards was the leading man among the Achaeans, and (as we have related in his life) one of the moſt illuſtrious perſonages among the Greeks.

Upon this news, Cleomenes, who hitherto had kept the houſes and goods of the Megalopolitans with ſuch care, that not the leaſt thing was em-

* Polybius beſtows great and juſt encomiums on this conduct of the Megalopolitans. l. 11.

bezzled, was enraged to ſuch a degree, that he plundered the whole, ſent the ſtatues and pictures to Sparta, and levelled the greateſt and beſt parts of the city with the ground. After this, he marched home again, being under ſome apprehenſions that Antigonus and the Achaeans would come upon him. They, however, made no motion towards it, for they were then holding a council at Ægium. Aratus mounted the *roſtrum* on that occaſion, where he wept a long time, with his robe before his face. They were all greatly ſurprized, and deſired him to ſpeak. At laſt, he ſaid, "Megalopolis is deſtroyed by Cleomenes." The Achaeans were aſtoniſhed at ſo great and ſudden a ſtroke, and the council immediately broke up. Antigonus made great efforts to go to the relief of the place; but, as his troops aſſembled ſlowly from their winter-quarters, he ordered them to remain where they were, and marched to Argos with the forces he had with him.

This made the ſecond enterprize of Cleomenes appear raſh and deſperate: but Polybius*, on the contrary, informs us, that it was conducted with great prudence and foreſight. For knowing (as he tells us) that the Macedonians were diſperſed in winter-quarters, and that Antigonus lay in Argos with only his friends and a few mercenaries about him, he entered the territories of that city; in the perſuaſion that either the ſhame of ſuffering ſuch an inroad, would provoke Antigonus to battle, and expoſe him to a defeat, or that if he declined the combat, it would bring him into diſrepute with the Argives. The event juſtified his expectation. When the people of Argos ſaw their country laid waſte, every thing that was valuable deſtroyed or carried off, they ran in great diſpleaſure to the king's gates, and beſieged them with clamour, bidding him either go out and fight, or elſe give place to his ſuperiors. Antigonus, however, like a wiſe and able general, thought the cenſures

* Polybius. lib. 11.

cenſures of ſtrangers no diſgrace, in compariſon of his quitting a place of ſecurity, and raſhly hazarding a battle, and therefore he abode by his firſt reſolutions. Cleomenes, in the mean time, marched up to the very walls, inſulted his enemies, and, before he retired, ſpread deſolation at his pleaſure.

Soon after his return, he was informed that Antigonus was come to Tegea, with a deſign to enter Laconia on that ſide. Upon this emergency, he put his troops under march another way, and appeared again before Argos by break of day, ravaging all the adjacent fields. He did not now cut down the corn with ſcythes and ſickles, as people uſually do, but beat it down with wooden inſtruments in the form of ſcymitars, as if this deſtruction was only an amuſement to his ſoldiers in their march. Yet when they would have ſet fire to Cyllarabis, the ſchool of exerciſe, he prevented it, reflecting that the ruin of Megalopolis was dictated rather by paſſion than by reaſon.

Antigonus immediately returned to Argos, having taken care to place guards in all the paſſes of the mountains. But Cleomenes, as if he held him and his operations in the utmoſt contempt, ſent heralds to demand the keys of Juno's temple, that he might ſacrifice to the goddeſs. After he had pleaſed himſelf with this inſult on his enemy, and offered his ſacrifice under the walls of the temple which was faſt ſhut up, he led his troops off to Phlius. In his march from thence he diſlodged the garriſon of Ologuntum, and then proceeded by Orchomenus; by which means he not only inſpired his people with freſh courage, but came to be conſidered by the enemy as a moſt able general, and a man capable of the greateſt undertakings. For, with the ſtrength of the ſingle city to oppoſe the whole power of the Macedonians and Peloponneſians, and all the treaſures of the king; and not only to keep Laconia untouched, but to carry

devaſtation

devaſtation into the enemy's country, were indications of no common genius and ſpirit.

He who firſt called money *the ſinews of buſineſs*, ſeems principally to have had reſpect to that of war. And Demades, when the Athenians called upon him to equip their navy and get it out, though their treaſury was very low, told them, "They muſt "think of baking bread, before they thought of an "embarkation." It is alſo ſaid that the old Archidamus, at the beginning of the Peloponneſian war, when the allies deſired that the quota of each ſhould be determined, made anſwer, that "war cannot be "kept at a ſet diet." And in this caſe we may juſtly ſay, that as wreſtlers, ſtrengthened by long exerciſe, do at laſt tire out thoſe who have equal ſkill and agility, but not the exerciſe; ſo Antigonus coming to the war with vaſt funds, in proceſs of time tired out and overcame Cleomenes, who could but in a very ſlender manner pay his mercenaries, and give his Spartans bread.

In all other reſpects the times favoured Cleomenes, Antigonus being drawn home by the bad poſture of his affairs. For in his abſence the barbarians invaded and ravaged all Macedonia. The Illyrians in particular, deſcending with a great army from the north, harraſſed the Macedonians ſo much, that they were forced to ſend for Antigonus. Had the letters been brought a little before the battle, that general would have immediately departed, and bidden the Achaeans a long farewell. But fortune, who loves to make the greateſt affairs turn upon ſome minute circumſtance, ſhewed on this occaſion of what conſequence a moment of time may be *. As ſoon as the battle of Sellaſia † was fought, and Cleomenes had loſt

* Plutarch had this reflexion from Polybius.

† Polybius has given a particular account of this battle. Antigonus had twenty-eight thouſand foot, and twelve hundred horſe. The army of Cleomenes conſiſted only of twenty thouſand; but it was advantageouſly poſted. He was encamped on two mountains,

loſt his army and his city, meſſengers came to call Antigonus home. This was a great aggravation of the Spartan king's misfortunes. Had he held off and avoided an action only a day or two longer, he would have been under no neceſſity of fighting; and, after the Macedonians were gone, he might have made peace with the Achaeans on what conditions he pleaſed. But ſuch, as we ſaid, was his want of money, that he had no reſource but the ſword; and, therefore, as Polybius informs us, with twenty thouſand men was forced to challenge thirty thouſand.

He ſhewed himſelf an excellent general in the whole courſe of the action; his Spartans behaved with great ſpirit, and his mercenaries fought not ill. His defeat was owing to the ſuperior advantage the Macedonians had in their armour, and to the weight and impetuoſity of their *phalanx*.

Phylarchus, indeed, aſſures us, it was the treachery of one of his officers, that ruined the affairs of Cleomenes. Antigonus had ordered the Illyrians and Acarnanians ſecretly to fetch a compaſs, and ſurround that wing which was commanded by Euclidas, the brother of Cleomenes, while he was marſhalling the reſt of his army. Cleomenes taking a view from an eminence of his adverſary's diſpoſition, could not perceive where the Illyrians and Acarnanians were poſted, and began to fear they were deſigned for ſome ſuch manoeuvre. He therefore called Damoteles, whoſe buſineſs it was to guard againſt any ſurpriſe, and ordered him to reconnoitre the enemy's rear with particular care, and form the beſt conjecture he could of the movements they intended

mountains, which were almoſt inacceſſible, and ſeparated only by a narrow defile. Theſe he had fortified with ſtrong ramparts and a deep foſſe; ſo that Antigonus, after reconnoitring his ſituation, did not think proper to attack him, but encamped at a ſmall diſtance on the plain. At length, for want of money and proviſions, Cleomenes was forced to come to action, and was beaten. *Pol. lib.* 11.

tended. Damoteles, who is ſaid to have been bribed by Antigonus, aſſured him that "he had nothing "to fear from that quarter, for all was ſafe in the "rear; nor was there any thing more to be done "but to bear down upon the front." Cleomenes, ſatisfied with this report, attacked Antigonus. The Spartans charged with ſo much vigour, that they made the Macedonian *phalanx* give ground, and eagerly purſued their advantage for about five furlongs. The king then ſeeing Euclidas in the other wing quite ſurrounded, ſtopped, and cried out, "Thou art loſt, my dear brother, thou art loſt! "in ſpite of all thy valour! but great is thy exam-"ple to our Spartan youth, and the ſongs of our "matrons ſhall for ever record thee!" *

Euclidas, and the wing he commanded, thus being ſlain, the victors fell upon Cleomenes, who ſeeing his men in great confuſion, and unable to maintain the fight, provided as well as he could for his own ſafety. It is ſaid that great numbers of the mercenaries were killed; and that of ſix thouſand Lacedaemonians no more than two hundred were ſaved.

When he reached Sparta, he adviſed the citizens to receive Antigonus. "For my part," ſaid he, "I am willing either to live or to die, as the one or "the other may be moſt for the intereſt of my coun-"try." Seeing the women run to meet the few brave men who had eſcaped with him, help to take off their armour, and preſent them with wine, he retired into his own houſe. After the death of his wife, he had taken into his houſe, a young woman, who was a native of Megalopolis, and free-born, but fell into his hands at the ſack of the place. She approached him, according to cuſtom, with a tender of her ſervices on his return from the field. But, though

* He acted like a brave ſoldier, but not like a ſkilful officer. Inſtead of pouring upon the enemy from the heights, and retiring as he found it convenient, he ſtood ſtill, and ſuffered the Macedonians to cut off his retreat.

though both thirſty and weary, he would neither drink nor ſit down; he only leaned his elbow againſt a pillar, and his head upon it, armed as he was; and having reſted a few moments, while he conſidered what courſe to take, he repaired to Gythium with his friends. There they went on board veſſels provided for the purpoſe, and immediately put out to ſea.

Upon the arrival of Antigonus, Sparta ſurrendered. His behaviour to the inhabitants was mild and humane, and not unſuitable to the dignity of their republic. For he offered them no kind of inſult, but reſtored them their laws and polity; and after having ſacrificed to the gods, retired the third day. He was informed, indeed, that Macedonia was involved in a dangerous war; and that the barbarians were ravaging the country. Beſides, he was in a deep conſumption, and had a continual defluxion upon the lungs. However, he bore up under his affliction, and wreſtled with domeſtic wars, 'till a great victory and carnage of the barbarians made him die more glorious. Phylarchus tells us, (and it is not at all improbable) that he burſt a veſſel in his lungs with ſhouting in the battle: though it paſſed in the ſchools, that, in expreſſing his joy after the victory, and crying out, "O glorious day!" he brought up a great quantity of blood, and fell into a fever, of which he died. Thus much concerning Antigonus.

From the Iſle of Cythera, where Cleomenes firſt touched, he ſailed to another iſland called Ægialia. There he had formed a deſign to paſs over to Cyrene, when one of his friends, named Therycion, a man of a high and intrepid ſpirit, on all occaſions, and one who always indulged himſelf in a lofty and haughty turn of expreſſion, came privately to Cleomenes, and thus addreſſed him: "We have loſt, "my prince, the moſt glorious death, which we "might have found in the battle; though the

" world had heard us boaſt that Antigonus ſhould
" never conquer the king of Sparta till he had ſlain
" him. Yet there is another exit ſtill offered us by
" glory and virtue. Whither then are we ſo abſurdly
" ſailing? flying a death that is near, and ſeeking
" one that is remote. If it is not diſhonourable for
" the deſcendants of Hercules to ſerve the ſucceſſors
" of Philip and Alexander, why do not we ſave our-
" ſelves a long voyage, by making our ſubmiſſion
" to Antigonus, who, in all probability, as much
" excels Ptolemy, as the Macedonians do the
" Egyptians? But, if we do not chuſe to be governed
" by a man who beat us in the field, why do we take
" one who never conquered us, for our maſter? Is
" it that we may ſhew our inferiority to two, inſtead
" of one, by flying before Antigonus, and then go-
" ing to flatter Ptolemy? Shall we ſay that you go
" into Egypt for the ſake of your mother? It will
" be a glorious and happy thing truly for her, to
" ſhew Ptolemy's wives her ſon, of a king become
" a captive and an exile. No! while we are yet
" maſters of our ſwords, and are yet in ſight of La-
" conia, let us deliver ourſelves from this miſerable
" fortune, and make our excuſe for our paſt beha-
" viour to thoſe brave men who fell for Sparta at
" Sellaſia. Or ſhall we rather ſit down in Egypt,
" and enquire whom Antigonus has left governor of
" Lacedaemon?"

Thus Therycion ſpoke, and Cleomenes made this anſwer: " Doſt thou think, then, wretch that
" thou art, doſt thou think, by running into the
" arms of death, than which nothing is more eaſy
" to find, to ſhew thy courage and fortitude? And
" doſt thou not conſider that this flight is more
" daſtardly than the former? Better men than we
" have given way to their enemies, being either
" overſet by fortune, or oppreſſed by numbers.
" But he who gives out either for fear of labour and
" and pain, or of the opinions and tongues of men,

"falls a victim to his own cowardice. A voluntary "death ought to be an action, not a retreat from "action. For it is an ungenerous thing either to "live or to die to ourſelves. All that thy expedient "could poſſibly do, would be only the extricating "us from our preſent misfortunes, without anſwer-"ing any purpoſe either of honour or utility. But "I think neither thou nor I ought to give up all "hopes for our country. If thoſe hopes ſhould de-"ſert us, death, when we ſeek for him, will not be "hard to find." Therycion made no reply; but the firſt opportunity he had to leave Cleomenes, he walked down to the ſhore, and ſtabbed himſelf.

Cleomenes left Ægialia, and ſailed to Africa, where he was received by the king's officers, and conducted to Alexandria. When he was firſt introduced to Ptolemy *, that prince behaved to him with ſufficient kindneſs and humanity; but when, upon farther trial of him, he found what ſtrength of underſtanding he had, and that his laconic and ſimple way of converſing was mixed with a vein of wit and pleaſantry; when he ſaw that he did not, in any inſtance whatever, diſhonour his royal birth, or crouch to fortune, he began to take more pleaſure in his diſcourſe, than in the mean ſacrifices of complaiſance and flattery. He greatly repented, too, and bluſhed at the thought of having neglected ſuch a man, and given him up to Antigonus, who, by conquering him, had acquired ſo much power and glory. He, therefore, encouraged him now with every mark of attention and reſpect, and promiſed to ſend him back to Greece with a fleet and ſupply of money, to re-eſtabliſh him in his kingdom. His preſent appointments amounted to four and twenty talents by the year. Out of this he maintained himſelf and his friends in a ſober and frugal manner, and beſtowed the reſt in offices of humanity to ſuch Greeks as had left their country and retired into Egypt.

But

* Ptolemy Euergetes.

But old Ptolemy died before he could put his intentions in favour of Cleomenes in execution; and the court ſoon becoming a ſcene of debauchery, where women had the ſway, the buſineſs of Cleomenes was neglected. For the * king was ſo much corrupted with wine and women, that in his more ſober and ſerious hours he would attend to nothing but the celebration of myſteries, and the beating a drum with his royal hands about the palace; while the great affairs of ſtate were left to his miſtreſs Agathoclea, and her mother, and Oenanthes the infamous miniſter of his pleaſures. It appears, however, that at firſt ſome uſe was made of Cleomenes. For Ptolemy being afraid of his brother Magas, who, through his mother's intereſt, ſtood well with the army, admitted Cleomenes to a conſultation in his cabinet; the ſubject of which was, whether he ſhould deſtroy his brother. All the reſt voted for it, but Cleomenes oppoſed it ſtrongly. He ſaid, "The king, if it were poſſible, ſhould have more "brothers, for the greater ſecurity of the crown, "and the better management of affairs." And "when Soſibius, the king's principal favourite, replied, "That the mercenaries could not be depended "on, while Magas was alive," Cleomenes deſired them to give themſelves no pain about that, "For," ſaid he, "above three thouſand of the mercenaries "are Peloponneſians, who, upon a nod from me, "will be ready with their arms." Hence, Ptolemy, for the preſent, looked upon Cleomenes not only as a faſt friend, but as a man of power; but his weakneſs afterwards increaſing his timidity, as is common with people of little underſtanding, he began to place his ſecurity in jealouſy and ſuſpicion. His miniſters were of the ſame ſtamp, and they conſidered Cleomenes as an object of fear, on account of his intereſt with the mercenaries; inſomuch that many were heard to ſay, "That he was a lion among a "flock

* Ptolemy Philopator,

"flock of ſheep." Such, indeed, he ſeemed to be in the court, where, with a ſilent ſeverity of aſpect, he obſerved all that paſſed.

In theſe circumſtances, he made no more applications for ſhips or troops. But being informed that Antigonus was dead; that the Achaeans were engaged in war with the Ætolians; and that affairs called ſtrongly for his preſence, in the trouble and diſtraction that then reigned in Peloponneſus, he deſired only a conveyance thither for himſelf and his friends. Yet no man liſtened to him. The king, who ſpent his time in all kinds of Bacchanalian revels with women, could not poſſibly hear him. Soſibius, the prime miniſter, thought Cleomenes muſt prove a formidable and dangerous man, if he were kept in Egypt againſt his will; and that it was not ſafe to diſmiſs him, becauſe of his bold and enterpriſing ſpirit; and becauſe he had been an eye-witneſs to the diſtempered ſtate of the kingdom. For it was not in the power of money to mollify him. As the Ox Apis, though revelling, to all appearance, in every delight that he can deſire, yet longs after the liberty which nature gave him, wants to bound over the fields and paſtures at his pleaſure, and diſcovers a manifeſt uneaſineſs under the hands of the prieſt who feeds him; ſo Cleomenes could not be ſatisfied with a ſoft and effeminate life; but, like Achilles,

Conſuming cares lay heavy on his mind:
In his black thoughts revenge and ſlaughter roll,
And ſcenes of blood riſe dreadful in his ſoul. POPE.

While his affairs were in this poſture, Nicagoras the Meſſenian, a man who concealed the moſt rancorous hatred of Cleomenes, under the pretence of friendſhip, came to Alexandria. It ſeems, he had formerly ſold him a handſome piece of ground, and the king, either through want of money, or his con-

tinual engagements in war, had neglected to pay him for it. Cleomenes, who happened to be walking upon the quay, ſaw this Nicagoras juſt landing from a merchantman, and ſaluting him with great kindneſs, aſked "what buſineſs had brought him to "Egypt." Nicagoras returned the compliment with equal appearance of friendſhip, and anſwered, "I am bringing ſome fine war-horſes for the king." Cleomenes laughed, and ſaid, "I could rather have "wiſhed that you had brought him ſome female "muſicians and pathics, for thoſe are the cattle that "the king at preſent likes beſt." Nicagoras, at that time, only ſmiled; but a few days after he put Cleomenes in mind of the field he had ſold him, and deſired he might now be paid; pretending "that he would not have given him any trouble "about it, if he had not found conſiderable loſs in "the diſpoſal of his merchandiſe." Cleomenes aſſured him, "That he had nothing left of what the "kings of Egypt had given him;" upon which, Nicagoras, in his diſappointment, acquainted Soſibius with the joke upon the king. Soſibius received the information with pleaſure; but, being deſirous to have ſomething againſt Cleomenes that would exaſperate Ptolemy ſtill more, he perſuaded Nicagoras to leave a letter, aſſerting, that "if the Spar-"tan prince had received a ſupply of ſhips and men "from the king of Egypt's bounty, he would have "made uſe of them in ſeizing Cyrene for himſelf." Nicagoras accordingly left the letter, and ſet ſail. Four days after, Soſibius carried it to Ptolemy, as if juſt come to his hands; and having worked up the young prince to revenge, it was reſolved that Cleomenes ſhould have a large apartment aſſigned him, and be ſerved there as formerly, but not ſuffered to go out.

This was a great affliction to Cleomenes; and the following accident made his proſpects ſtill more miſerable. Ptolemy, the ſon of Chryſermus, who was

an

an intimate friend of the king's, had all along behaved to Cleomenes with great civility; they ſeemed to like each other's company, and were upon ſome terms of confidence. Cleomenes, in this diſtreſs, deſired the ſon of Chryſermus, to come and ſpeak to him. He came, and talked to him plauſibly enough, endeavouring to diſpel his ſuſpicions, and to apologize for the king. But as he was going out of the apartment, without obſerving that Cleomenes followed him to the door, he gave the keepers a ſevere reprimand, "for looking ſo careleſly after a "wild beaſt, who, if he eſcaped, in all probability "could be taken no more." Cleomenes having "heard this, retired before Ptolemy perceived him, and acquainted his friends with it. Upon this, they all diſmiſſed their former hopes, and, taking the meaſures which anger dictated, they reſolved to revenge themſelves of Ptolemy's injurious and inſolent behaviour, and then die as became Spartans, inſtead of waiting long for their doom in confinement, like victims fatted for the altar. For they thought it an inſufferable thing that Cleomenes, after he had diſdained to come to terms with Antigonus, a brave warrior, and a man of action, ſhould ſit expecting his fate from a prince who aſſumed the character of a prieſt of Cybele; and who, after he had laid aſide his drum, and was tired of his dance, would find another kind of ſport in putting him to death.

After they had taken their reſolution, Ptolemy happening to go to Caropus, they propagated a report, that, by the king's order, Cleomenes was to be releaſed; and as it was the cuſtom of the kings of Egypt to ſend thoſe to whom they deſigned to extend ſuch grace, a ſupper, and other tokens of friendſhip, the friends of Cleomenes made ample proviſion for the purpoſe, and ſent it to the gate. By this ſtratagem the keepers were deceived; for they imagined that the whole was ſent by the king. Cleomenes then offered ſacrifice, with a chaplet of flowers on

his head, and afterwards ſat down with his friends to the banquet, taking care that the keepers ſhould have large portions to regale them. It is ſaid, that he ſet about his enterpriſe ſooner than he intended, becauſe he found that one of the ſervants who was in the ſecret, had been out all night with his miſtreſs. Fearing, therefore, that a diſcovery might be made, about mid-day, while the intoxication of the preceding night ſtill kept the guards faſt aſleep, he put on his military tunic, having firſt opened the ſeam of the left ſhoulder, and ruſhed out ſword in hand, accompanied by his friends, who were thirteen in number, and accoutred in the ſame manner.

One of them, named Hippotas, though lame, at firſt was enabled by the ſpirit of the enterpriſe, to keep pace with them; but afterwards perceiving, that they went ſlower on his account, he deſired them to kill him, and not ruin the whole ſcheme by waiting for a man who could do them no ſervice. By good fortune they found an Alexandrian leading a horſe in the ſtreet; they took it, and ſet Hippotas upon it, and then moved ſwiftly through the ſtreets, all the way inviting the people to liberty. They had juſt ſpirit enough left to praiſe and admire the bold attempt of Cleomenes, but not a man of them ventured to follow or aſſiſt him.

Ptolemy, the ſon of Chryſermus, happening to come out of the palace, three of them fell upon him, and diſpatched him. Another Ptolemy, who was governor of the city, advanced to meet them in his chariot: they attacked and diſperſed his officers and guards; and, dragging him out of the chariot, put him to the ſword. Then they marched to the citadel, with a deſign to break open the priſon, and join the priſoners, who were no ſmall number, to their party. But the keepers had prevented them by ſtrongly barricading the gates. Cleomenes, thus diſappointed again, roamed up and down the city; and he found that not a ſingle man would join him,

him, but that all avoided him, as they would avoid infection.

He, therefore, ſtopped, and ſaid to his friends, "It is no wonder that women govern a people who "fly from liberty;" adding, "That he hoped they "would all die in a manner that would reflect no "diſhonour upon him, or on their own atchieve-"ments." Hippotas deſired one of the younger men to diſpatch him, and was the firſt that fell. Afterwards each of them, without fear or delay, fell upon his own ſword, except Panteus, who was the firſt man that ſcaled the walls of Magalopolis, when it was taken by ſurpriſe. He was in the flower of his age; remarkable for his beauty, and of a happier turn than the reſt of the youth for the Spartan diſcipline, which perfections had given him a great ſhare in the king's regard; and he now gave him orders not to diſpatch himſelf, till he ſaw his prince and all the reſt breathleſs on the ground. Panteus tried one after another with his dagger, as they lay, leſt ſome one ſhould happen to be left with life in him. On pricking Cleomenes in the foot, he perceived a contorſion in his face. He, therefore, kiſſed him, and ſate down by him till the breath was out of his body; and then embracing the corpſe, ſlew himſelf upon it.

Thus fell Cleomenes, after he had been ſixteen years king of Sparta, and ſhewed himſelf in all reſpects the great man. When the report of his death had ſpread over the city, Crateſiclea, though a woman of ſuperior fortitude, ſunk under the weight of the calamity; ſhe embraced the children of Cleomenes, and wept over them. The elder of them diſengaging himſelf from her arms, got unſuſpected to the top of the houſe, and threw himſelf down headlong. The child was not killed, but much hurt; and, when they took him up, he loudly expreſſed his grief and indignation that they would not ſuffer him to deſtroy himſelf.

Ptolemy was no ſooner informed of theſe things, than he ordered the body of Cleomenes to be flayed, and nailed to a croſs, and his children to be put to death, together with his mother, and the women her companions. Amongſt theſe was the wife of Panteus, a woman of great beauty, and a moſt majeſtic preſence. They had been but lately married, and their misfortunes overtook them amidſt the firſt tranſports of love. When her huſband went with Cleomenes from Sparta, ſhe was deſirous of accompanying him; but was prevented by her parents, who kept her in cloſe cuſtody. But ſoon after, ſhe provided herſelf a horſe, and a little money, and, making her eſcape by night, rode at full ſpeed to Taenarus, and there embarked on board a ſhip bound for Egypt. She was brought ſafe to Panteus, and ſhe chearfully ſhared with him in all the inconveniencies they found in a foreign country. When the ſoldiers came to take out Crateſiclea to execution, ſhe led her by the hand, aſſiſted in bearing her robe, and deſired her to exert all the courage ſhe was miſtreſs of; though ſhe was far from being afraid of death, and deſired no other favour than that ſhe might die before her children. But when they came to the place of execution, the children ſuffered before her eyes, and then Crateſiclea was diſpatched, who, in this extreme diſtreſs, uttered only theſe words, "O! my children! whither are "you gone!"

The wife of Panteus, who was tall and ſtrong, girt her robe about her, and, in a ſilent and compoſed manner, paid the laſt offices to each woman that lay dead, winding up the bodies as well as her preſent circumſtances would admit. Laſt of all, ſhe prepared herſelf for the poniard, by letting down her robe about her, and adjuſting it in ſuch a manner as to need no aſſiſtance after death; then calling the executioner to do his office, and permitting no other perſon to approach her, ſhe fell like a heroine.

In

In death ſhe retained all the decorum ſhe had preſerved in life; and the decency which had been ſo ſacred with this excellent woman, ſtill remained about her. Thus, in this bloody tragedy, wherein the women contended to the laſt for the prize of courage with the men, Lacedaemon ſhewed that *it is impoſſible for fortune to conquer virtue.*

A few days after, the ſoldiers who watched the body of Cleomenes on the croſs *, ſaw a great ſnake winding about his head, and covering all his face, ſo that no bird of prey durſt touch it. This ſtruck the king with ſuperſtitious terrors, and made way for the women to try a variety of expiations; for Ptolemy was now perſuaded that he had cauſed the death of a perſon who was a favourite of heaven, and ſomething more than mortal. The Alexandrians crowded to the place, and called Cleomenes a hero, a ſon of the gods, till the philoſophers put a ſtop to their devotions, by aſſuring them, that, as dead oxen breed bees †, horſes waſps ‡, and beetles riſe out of the putrefaction of aſſes; ſo human carcaſes, when ſome of the moiſture of the marrow is evaporated, and it comes to a thicker conſiſtence, produce ſerpents §. The ancients knowing this doctrine, appropriated the ſerpent, rather than any other animal, to heroes.

* That the friends of the deceaſed might not take it away by night. Thus we find in Petronius's Epheſian matron. *Miles qui cruces aſſervabat, ne quis ad ſepulturam corpora detrahet:* And thus we find in an authority, we ſhall not mention at the ſame time with Petronius.

† This was the received opinion of antiquity, as we find in Varro, &c. &c.

‡ Preſſus humo bellator equus crabronis origo. OVID.

§ Sunt qui, cum clauſo putrefacta eſt ſpina ſepulchro;
Mutari credant humanas angue medullas. OVID.

The above verſes ſeem to be taken from ſome Greek lines of Cleolaus, addreſſed to Ptolemy on the ſubject of ſerpents being nerated from the corruption of the human body.

TIBERIUS and CAIUS GRACCHUS.

TIBERIUS GRACCHUS.

HAVING thus preſented you with the hiſtory of Agis and Cleomenes, we have two Romans to compare with them; and no leſs dreadful a ſcene of calamities to open in the lives of Tiberius and Caius Gracchus. They were the ſons of Tiberius Gracchus, who, though he was once honoured with the cenſorſhip, twice with the conſulate, and led up two triumphs, yet derived ſtill greater dignity from his virtues *. Hence, after the death of that Scipio who conquered Hannibal, he was thought worthy to marry Cornelia the daughter of that great man, though he had not been upon any terms of friendſhip with him, but rather always at variance. It is ſaid that he once caught a pair of ſerpents upon his bed, and that the ſoothſayers, after they had conſidered the prodigy, adviſed him neither to kill them both, nor let them both go. If he killed the male ſerpent, they told him his death would be the conſequence; if the female, that of Cornelia. Tiberius, who loved his wife, and thought it more ſuitable for him to die firſt, who was much older than his wife, killed the male, and ſet the female at liberty.

* Cicero in his firſt book *de Divinatione* paſſes the higheſt encomiums on his virtue and wiſdom. He was grandſon to Publius Sempronius.

liberty. Not long after this, he died, leaving Cornelia with no fewer than twelve children *.

The care of the houſe and the children now entirely devolved upon Cornelia, and ſhe behaved with ſuch ſobriety, ſo much parental affection and greatneſs of mind, that Tiberius ſeemed not to have judged ill, in chuſing to die for ſo valuable a woman. For though Ptolemy, king of Egypt, paid his addreſſes to her, and offered her a ſhare in his throne, ſhe refuſed him. During her widowhood, ſhe loſt all her children except three, one daughter, who was married to Scipio the younger, and two ſons, Tiberius and Caius, whoſe lives we are now writing. Cornelia brought them up with ſo much care, that though they were without diſpute of the nobleſt family, and had the happieſt genius and diſpoſition of all the Roman youth, yet education was allowed to have contributed more to their perfections than nature.

As in the ſtatues and pictures of Caſtor and Pollux, though there is a reſemblance between the brothers, yet there is alſo a difference in the make of him who delighted in the *ceſtus*, and of the other whoſe province was horſemanſhip; ſo, while theſe young men ſtrongly reſembled each other, in point of valour, of temperance, of liberality, of eloquence, of greatneſs of mind, there appeared in their actions and political conduct no ſmall diſſimilarity. It may not be amiſs to explain the difference, before we proceed farther.

In the firſt place, Tiberius had a mildneſs in his look, and a compoſure in his whole behaviour; Caius as much vehemence and fire. So that when they ſpoke in public, Tiberius had a great modeſty of action, and ſhifted not his place, whereas Caius was the firſt of the Romans, that, in addreſſing the people, moved from one end of the *roſtra* to the other,

* Cicero relates this ſtory in his firſt book *de Divinatione*, from the memoirs of Caius Gracchus, the ſon of Tiberius.

other, and threw his gown off his ſhoulder *. So it is related of Cleon of Athens, that he was the firſt orator who threw back his robe and ſmote upon his thigh. The oratory of Caius was ſtrongly impaſſioned, and calculated to excite terror; that of Tiberius was of a more gentle kind, and pity was the emotion that it raiſed.

The language of Tiberius was chaſtiſed and elaborate, that of Caius ſplendid and perſuaſive. So, in their manner of living, Tiberius was plain and frugal; Caius, when compared to other young Romans, temperate and ſober, but, in compariſon with his brother, a friend to luxury. Hence, Druſas objected to him, that he had bought Delphic tables †, of ſilver only, but very exquiſite workmanſhip, at the rate of twelve hundred and fifty *drachmas* a pound.

Their tempers were no leſs different than their language. Tiberius was mild and gentle; Caius, high-ſpirited and uncontrouled; inſomuch that in ſpeaking he would often be carried away by the violence of his paſſion, exalt his voice above the regular pitch, give into abuſive expreſſions, and diſorder the whole frame of his oration. To guard againſt theſe exceſſes, he ordered his ſervant Licinius, who was a ſenſible man, to ſtand with a pitch-pipe ‡ behind him, when he ſpoke in public, and whenever he found him ſtraining his voice or breaking out into anger, to give him a ſofter key; upon which, his violence both of tone and paſſion immediately abated, and

* Cicero in his third book *de oratore* quotes a paſſage from one of Caius's orations on the death of Tiberius, which ſtrongly marks the nervous pathos of his eloquence. "Quo me miſer "conferam? In Capitoliumne? at fratris ſanguine redundat. "An domum? Matremne ut miſeram, lamentantemque videam "& abjectam?" Cicero obſerves that his action was no leſs animated than his eloquence. *Quæ ſic ab illo acta eſſe conſtabat, oculis, voce, geſtu, inimici ut lachrymas tenere non poſſent.*

† Theſe, we ſuppoſe, were a kind of tripods.

‡ Cicero in his third book *de oratore* calls this a ſmall ivory-pipe. *Eburneola fiſtula.*

and he was eaſily recalled to a propriety of addreſs.

Such was the difference between the two brothers. But in the valour they exerted againſt their enemies, in the juſtice they did their fellow-citizens, in attention to their duty as magiſtrates, and in ſelf-government with reſpect to pleaſure, they were perfectly alike. Tiberius was nine years older than his brother; conſequently their political operations took place in different periods. This was a great diſadvantage, and indeed the principal thing that prevented their ſucceſs. Had they flouriſhed together, and acted in concert, ſuch an union would have added greatly to their force, and perhaps might have rendered it irreſiſtible. We muſt, therefore, ſpeak of each ſeparately, and we ſhall begin with the eldeſt.

Tiberius, as he grew towards manhood, gained ſo extraordinary a reputation, that he was admitted into the college of the Augurs, rather on account of his virtue than his high birth. Of the excellence of his character the following is alſo a proof. Appius Claudius, who had been honoured both with the conſulate and cenſorſhip, whoſe merit had raiſed him to the rank of preſident of the ſenate, and who in ſenſe and ſpirit was ſuperior to all the Romans of his time, ſupping one evening with the *augurs* at a public entertainment, addreſſed himſelf to Tiberius with great kindneſs, and offered him his daughter in marriage. Tiberius accepted the propoſal with pleaſure; and the contract being agreed upon, Appius, when he went home, had no ſooner entered the houſe, than he called out aloud to his wife, and ſaid, "Antiſtia, I have contracted our daughter Claudia." Antiſtia, much ſurprized, anſwered. "Why ſo ſuddenly? What need of ſuch haſte, unleſs Tiberius Gracchus be the man you have pitched upon?" I am not ignorant that ſome* tell the ſame ſtory of Tiberius the father of the Gracchi and Scipio

* Amongſt theſe was Livy. l. xxxviii, 37.

Scipio Africanus: but moſt hiſtorians give it in the manner we have mentioned; and Polybius, in particular, tells us, that after the death of Africanus, Cornelia's relations gave her to Tiberius, in preference of all competitors, which is a proof that her father left her unengaged.

The Tiberius of whom we are writing, ſerved in Africa under the younger Scipio, who had married his ſiſter; and, as he lived in the ſame tent with the general, he became immediately attentive to his genius and powers, which were daily productive of ſuch actions as might animate a young man to virtue: and attract his imitation. With theſe advantages Tiberius ſoon excelled all of his age both in point of diſcipline and valour. At a ſiege of one of the enemy's towns, he was the firſt that ſcaled the wall, as Fannius relates *, who, according to his own account, mounted it with him, and had a ſhare in the honour. In ſhort, Tiberius, while he ſtayed with the army, was greatly beloved, and as much regretted when he left it.

After this expedition he was appointed quaeſtor, and it fell to his lot to attend the conſul Caius Mancinus † in the Numantian war. Mancinus did not want courage, but he was one of the moſt unfortunate generals the Romans ever had. Yet amidſt a train of ſevere accidents and deſperate circumſtances, Tiberius diſtinguiſhed himſelf the more, not only by his courage and capacity, but, what did him greater honour, by his reſpectful behaviour to his general, whoſe misfortunes had made him forget even the authority that he bore. For, after having loſt ſeveral important battles, he attempted to decamp in the night: the Numantians perceiving this movement, ſeized the camp, and falling upon the fugitives, made great havock of the rear. Not ſatisfied with this, they ſurrounded the whole army, and drove the Romans upon impracticable ground, where there

* This Fannius was author of a hiſtory and certain annals which were abridged by Brutus.

† He was conſul with Emilius Lepidus in the year of Rome 616.

there was no poſſibility of eſcape. Mancinus now deſpairing of making his way ſword in hand, ſent a herald to beg a truce and conditions of peace. The Numantians, however, would truſt no man but Tiberius, and they inſiſted on his being ſent to treat. This they did, not only out of regard to the young man who had ſo great a character in the army, but to the memory of his father, who had formerly made war in Spain, and after having ſubdued ſeveral nations, granted the Numantians a peace, which through his intereſt was confirmed at Rome, and obſerved with good faith. Tiberius was accordingly ſent; and, in his negotiation, he thought proper to comply with ſome articles, by which means he gained others, and made a peace that undoubtedly ſaved twenty thouſand Roman citizens, beſide ſlaves and other retainers to the army.

But whatever was left in the camp, the Numantians took as legal plunder. Among the reſt they carried off the books and papers which contained the accounts of Tiberius's quaeſtorſhip. As it was a matter of importance to him to recover them, though the Roman army was already under march, he returned with a few friends to Numantia. Having called out the magiſtrates of the place, he deſired them to reſtore him his books, that his enemies might not have an opportunity to accuſe him, when they ſaw he had loſt the means of defending himſelf. The Numantians were much pleaſed that the accident had given them an opportunity to oblige him, and they invited him to enter their city. As he was deliberating on this circumſtance, they drew nearer, and taking him by the hand, earneſtly intreated him no longer to look upon them as enemies, but to rank them among his friends, and place a confidence in them as ſuch. Tiberius thought it beſt to comply, both for the ſake of his books, and for fear of offending them by the appearance of diſtruſt. Accordingly he went into the town with them, where

the firſt thing they did, was to provide a little collation, and to beg he would partake of it. Afterwards they returned him his books, and deſired he would take whatever elſe he choſe among the ſpoils. He accepted, however, of nothing but ſome frankincenſe, to be uſed in the public ſacrifices, and at his departure he embraced them with great cordiality.

On his return to Rome, he found that the whole buſineſs of the peace was conſidered in an obnoxious and diſhonourable light. In this danger, the relations and friends of the ſoldiers he had brought off, who made a very conſiderable part of the people, joined to ſupport Tiberius; imputing all the diſgrace of what was done to the general, and inſiſting that the quaeſtor had ſaved ſo many citizens. The generality of the citizens, however, could not ſuffer the peace to ſtand, and they demanded that, in this caſe, the example of their anceſtors ſhould be followed. For when their generals thought themſelves happy in getting out of the hands of the Samnites, by agreeing to ſuch a league, they delivered them naked to the enemy*. The quaeſtors too, and the tribunes, and all that had a ſhare in concluding the peace, they ſent back in the ſame condition, and turned entirely upon them the breach of the treaty and of the oath that ſhould have confirmed it.

On this occaſion the people ſhewed their affection for Tiberius in a remarkable manner: for they decreed that the conſul ſhould be delivered up to the Numantians, naked and in chains; but that all the reſt ſhould be ſpared for the ſake of Tiberius. Scipio, who had then great authority and intereſt in Rome, ſeems to have contributed to the procuring of this decree. He was blamed, notwithſtanding, for not ſaving Mancinus, nor uſing his beſt endeavours to get the peace with the Numantians ratified, which

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* This was about 182 years before. The generals ſent back, were the conſuls Veturius Calvinus, and Poſthumius Albinus.

would not have been granted at all, had it not been on account of his friend and relation Tiberius. Great part of theſe complaints, indeed, ſeems to have ariſen from the ambition and exceſſive zeal of Tiberius's friends and the Sophiſts he had about him; and the difference between him and Scipio was far from terminating in irreconcileable enmity. Nay, I am perſuaded that Tiberius would never have fallen into thoſe misfortunes that ruined him, had Scipio been at home, to aſſiſt him in his political conduct. He was engaged in war with Numantia, when Tiberius ventured to propoſe his new laws. It was on this occaſion.

When the Romans in their wars made any acquiſitions of lands from their neighbours, they uſed formerly to ſell part, to add part to the public demeſnes, and to diſtribute the reſt among the neceſſitous citizens; only reſerving a ſmall rent to be paid into the treaſury. But when the rich began to carry it with a high hand over the poor, and to exclude them entirely, if they did not pay exorbitant rents, a law was made that no man ſhould be poſſeſſed of more than five hundred acres of land. This ſtatute for a while reſtrained the avarice of the rich, and helped the poor, who by virtue of it, remained upon their lands at the old rents. But afterwards their wealthy neighbours took their farms from them, and held them in other names; though, in time, they ſcrupled not to claim them in their own. The poor, thus expelled, neither gave in their names readily to the levies, nor attended to the education of their children. The conſequence was a want of freemen all over Italy; for it was filled with ſlaves and barbarians, who, after the poor Roman citizens were diſpoſſeſſed, cultivated the ground for the rich. Caius Laelius, the friend of Scipio, attempted to correct this diſorder; but finding a formidable oppoſition from perſons in power, and fearing the matter could not be decided without the ſword, he gave it

it up. This gained him the name of Laelius the *wiſe**. But Tiberius was no ſooner appointed tribune of the people, than he embarked in the ſame enterprize. He was put upon it, according to moſt authors, by Diophanes the rhetorician, and Bloſſius the philoſopher; the former of which was a Mitylenean exile, the latter a native of Cumae in Italy, and a particular friend of Antipater of Tarſus, with whom he became acquainted at Rome, and who did him the honour to addreſs ſome of his philoſophical writings to him.

Some blame his mother Cornelia, who uſed to reproach her ſons, that ſhe was ſtill called the mother-in-law of Scipio, not the mother of the Gracchi. Others ſay, Tiberius took this raſh ſtep from a jealouſy of Spurius Poſthumius, who was of the ſame age with him, and his rival in oratory. It ſeems, when he returned from the wars, he found Poſthumius ſo much before him in point of reputation and intereſt with the people, that, to recover his ground, he undertook this hazardous affair which ſo effectually drew the popular attention upon him. But his brother Caius writes, that as Tiberius was paſſing through Tuſcany on his way to Numantia, and found the country almoſt depopulated, there being ſcarce any huſbandmen or ſhepherds except ſlaves from foreign and barbarous nations, he then firſt formed the project which plunged them in ſo many misfortunes. It is certain, however, that the people inflamed his ſpirit of enterprize and ambition, by putting up writings on the porticos, walls, and monuments, in which they begged of him to reſtore their ſhare of the public lands to the poor.

Yet

* Plutarch ſeems here to have followed ſome miſtaken authority. It was not this circumſtance, but the abſtemiouſneſs of his life, that gave Lælius the name of *wiſe*. *Laelius eo dictus eſt ſapiens, quod non intelligeret quid ſuaviſſimum eſſet.* Cic. de Fin. Bon. & Mal.

Yet he did not frame the law without conſulting ſome of the Romans that were moſt diſtinguiſhed for their virtue and authority. Among theſe were Craſſus the chief pontiff, Mutius Scaevola the lawyer, who at that time was alſo conſul, and Appius Claudius father-in-law to Tiberius. There never was a milder law made againſt ſo much injuſtice and oppreſſion. For they who deſerved to have been puniſhed for their infringement on the rights of the community, and fined for holding the lands contrary to law, were to have a conſideration for giving up their groundleſs claims, and reſtoring the eſtates to ſuch of the citizens as were to be relieved. But though the reformation was conducted with ſo much tenderneſs, the people were ſatisfied: they were willing to over-look what was paſt, on condition that they might guard againſt future uſurpations.

On the other hand, perſons of great property oppoſed the law out of avarice, and the lawgiver out of a ſpirit of reſentment and malignity; endeavouring to prejudice the people againſt the deſign, as if Tiberius intended by the *Agrarian* law to throw all into diſorder, and ſubvert the conſtitution. But their attempts were vain. For, in this juſt and glorious cauſe, Tiberius exerted an eloquence which might have adorned a worſe ſubject, and which nothing could reſiſt. How great was he, when the people were gathered about the *roſtrum*, and he pleaded for the poor in ſuch language as this: "The "wild beaſts of Italy have their caves to retire to, "but the brave men who ſpill their blood in her "cauſe, have nothing left but air and light. With-"out houſes, without any ſettled habitations, they "wander from place to place with their wives and "children; and their generals do but mock them, "when, at the head of their armies, they exhort "their men to fight for their ſepulchres and domeſ-"tic gods. For, among ſuch numbers, perhaps "there is not a Roman who has an altar that be-

" longed to his anceſtors, or a ſepulchre in which " their aſhes reſt. The private ſoldiers fight and " die, to advance the wealth and luxury of the " great; and they are called maſters of the world, " while they have not a foot of ground in their " poſſeſſion."

Such ſpeeches as this, delivered by a man of ſuch ſpirit, and flowing from a heart really intereſted in the cauſe, filled the people with an enthuſiaſtic fury, and none of his adverſaries durſt pretend to anſwer him. Forbearing, therefore, the war of words, they addreſſed themſelves to Marcus Octavius, one of the tribunes, a grave and modeſt young man, and an intimate acquaintance of Tiberius. Out of reverence for his friend, he declined the taſk at firſt; but upon a number of applications from men of the firſt rank, he was prevailed upon to oppoſe Tiberius, and prevent the paſſing of the law. For the tribunes power chiefly lies in the negative voice, and if one of them ſtands out, the reſt can effect nothing.

Incenſed by this behaviour, Tiberius dropt his moderate bill, and propoſed another more agreeable to the commonalty, and more ſevere againſt the uſurpers. For by this they were commanded immediately to quit the lands which they held contrary to former laws. On this ſubject there were daily diſputes between him and Octavius on the *roſtra*; yet not one abuſive or diſparaging word is ſaid to have eſcaped either of them in all the heat of ſpeaking. Indeed, an ingenuous diſpoſition and liberal education, will prevent or reſtrain the ſallies of paſſion, not only during the free enjoyment of the bottle, but in the ardour of contention about points of a ſuperior nature.

Tiberius obſerving that Octavius was liable to ſuffer by the bill, as having more land than the laws could warrant, deſired him to give up his oppoſition, and offered, at the ſame time, to indemnify him out of his own fortune, though that was not great. As

this propoſal was not accepted, Tiberius forbad all other magiſtrates to exerciſe their functions, 'till the *Agrarian* law was paſſed. He likewiſe put his own ſeal upon the doors of the temple of Saturn, that the quaeſtors might neither bring any thing into the treaſury, nor take any thing out. And he threatened to fine ſuch of the praetors as ſhould attempt to diſobey his commands. This ſtruck ſuch a terror, that all departments of government were at a ſtand. Perſons of great property put themſelves in mourning, and appeared in public with all the circumſtances that they thought might excite compaſſion. Not ſatisfied with this, they conſpired the death of Tiberius, and ſuborned aſſaſſins to deſtroy him. For which reaſon he appeared with a tuck, ſuch as is uſed by robbers, which the Romans call a *dolon* *.

When the day appointed came, and Tiberius was ſummoning the people to give their ſuffrages, a party of the people of property carried off the balloting veſſels †, which occaſioned great confuſion. Tiberius, however, ſeemed ſtrong enough to carry his point by force, and his partizans were preparing to have recourſe to it, when Manlius and Fulvius, men of conſular dignity, fell at Tiberius's feet, bathed his hands with tears, and conjured him not to put his purpoſe in execution. He now perceived how dreadful the conſequences of his attempt might be, and his reverence for thoſe two great men had its effect upon him: he therefore aſked them what they

* We find this word uſed by Virgil.

Pila manu, ſævoſque gerunt in bella dolones.

Æn. vii. v. 664.

The dolon was a ſtaff that had a poignard concealed within it, and had it's name from *dolus*, deceit.

† The original ὑδρία ſignifies an urn. The Romans had two ſorts of veſſels which they uſed in balloting. The firſt were open veſſels called *ciſtæ*, or *ciſtellæ*, which contained the ballots before they were diſtributed to the people; the others, with narrow necks, were called *ſitellæ*, and into theſe the people caſt their ballots. The latter were the veſſels which are here ſaid to have been carried off.

they would have him do. They ſaid, they were not capable of adviſing him in ſo important an affair, and earneſtly intreated him to refer it to the ſenate. The ſenate aſſembled to deliberate upon it, but the influence of the people of fortune on that body was ſuch, that their debates ended in nothing.

Tiberius then adopted a meaſure that was neither juſt nor moderate. He reſolved to remove Octavius from the tribuneſhip, becauſe there was no other means to get his law paſſed. He addreſſed him, indeed, in public firſt, in a mild and friendly manner, and taking him by the hand, conjured him to gratify the people, who aſked nothing that was unjuſt, and would only receive a ſmall recompence for the great labours and dangers they had experienced. But Octavius abſolutely refuſed to comply. Tiberius then declared, "that as it was not poſſible for "two magiſtrates of equal authority, when they "differed in ſuch capital points, to go through the "remainder of their office without coming to hoſ-"tilities, he ſaw no other remedy but the depoſing "of them." He therefore deſired Octavius to take the ſenſe of the people firſt with reſpect to him; aſſuring him, that he would immediately return to a private ſtation, if the ſuffrages of his fellow-citizens ſhould order it ſo. As Octavius rejected this propoſal too, Tiberius told him plainly, that he would put the queſtion to the people concerning him, if upon farther conſideration he did not alter his mind.

Upon this, he diſmiſſed the aſſembly. Next day he convoked it again; and when he had mounted the *roſtra*, he made another trial to bring Octavius to compliance. But finding him inflexible, he propoſed a decree for depriving him of the tribuneſhip, and immediately put it to the vote. When, of the five and thirty tribes, ſeventeen had given their voices for it, and there wanted only one more to make Octavius a private man, Tiberius ordered them

to

to ſtop, and once more applied to his colleague. He embraced him with great tenderneſs in the ſight of the people, and with the moſt preſſing inſtances beſought him, neither to bring ſuch a mark of infamy upon himſelf, nor expoſe him to the diſreputation of being promoter of ſuch ſevere and violent meaſures. It was not without emotion that Octavius is ſaid to have liſtened to theſe intreaties. His eyes were filled with tears, and he ſtood a long time ſilent. But when he looked towards the perſons of property, who were aſſembled in a body, ſhame and fear of loſing himſelf in their opinion, brought him back to his reſolution to run all riſks, and with a noble firmneſs he bade Tiberius do his pleaſure. The bill, therefore, was paſſed; and Tiberius ordered one of his freedmen to pull down Octavius from the tribunal; for he employed his own freedmen as lictors. This ignominious manner of expulſion made the caſe of Octavius more pitiable. The people, notwithſtanding, fell upon him; but by the aſſiſtance of thoſe of the landed intereſt, who came to his defence, and kept off the mob, he eſcaped with his life. However, a faithful ſervant of his, who ſtood before him to ward off the danger, had his eyes torn out. This violence was much againſt the will of Tiberius, who no ſooner ſaw the tumult riſing, than he haſtened down to appeaſe it.

The Agrarian law then was confirmed, and three commiſſioners appointed to take a ſurvey of the lands, and ſee them properly diſtributed. Tiberius was one of the three, his father-in-law Appius Claudius another, and his brother Caius Gracchus the third. The latter was then making the campaign under Scipio at Numantia. Tiberius, having carried theſe points without oppoſition, next filled up the vacant tribune's ſeat; into which he did not put a man of any note, but Mutius, one of his own clients. Theſe proceedings exaſperated the Patricians extremely, and as they dreaded the increaſe of his

power, they took every opportunity to inſult him in the ſenate. When he deſired, for inſtance, what was nothing more than cuſtomary, a tent at the public charge, for his uſe in dividing the lands, they refuſed him one, though ſuch things had been often granted on much leſs important occaſions. And, at the motion of Publius Naſica, he had only nine *oboli* a day allowed for his expences. Naſica, indeed, was become his avowed enemy; for he had a great eſtate in the public lands, and was, of courſe, unwilling to be ſtript of it.

At the ſame time, the people were more and more enraged. One of Tiberius's friends happening to die ſuddenly, and malignant ſpots appearing upon the body, they loudly declared that the man was poiſoned. They aſſembled at his funeral, took the bier upon their ſhoulders, and carried it to the pile. There they were confirmed in their ſuſpicions; for the corpſe burſt, and emitted ſuch a quantity of corrupted humours, that it put out the fire. Though more fire was brought, ſtill the wood would not burn 'till it was removed to another place; and it was with much difficulty at laſt that the body was conſumed. Hence Tiberius took occaſion to incenſe the commonalty ſtill more againſt the other party. He put himſelf in mourning; he led his children into the *forum*, and recommended them and their mother to the protection of the people; as giving up his own life for loſt.

About this time died Attalus * Philopator; and Eudemus of Pergamus brought his will to Rome, by which it appeared that he had left the Roman people his heirs. Tiberius endeavouring to avail himſelf of this incident, immediately propoſed a law, "That all the ready money the king had left, "ſhould

* This was Attallus III. the ſon of Eumenes II. and Stratonice, and the laſt king of Pergamus. He was not, however, ſurnamed *Philopator*, but *Philometor*, and ſo it ſtands in the manuſcript of St. Germain.

" ſhould be diſtributed among the citizens, to enable " them to provide working tools and proceed in the " cultivation of their new-aſſigned lands. As to the " cities too, in the territories of Attalus, the ſenate," he ſaid, " had not a right to diſpoſe of them, but " the people, and he would refer the buſineſs en- " tirely to their judgment."

This embroiled him ſtill more with the ſenate; and one of their body, of the name of Pompey, ſtood up and ſaid, " He was next neighbour to Tiberius, " and by that means had opportunity to know that " Eudemus the Pergamenian had brought him a " royal diadem and purple robe, for his uſe when he " was king of Rome." Quintus Metellus ſaid another ſevere thing againſt him—" During the cenſor- " ſhip of your father, whenever he returned home " after ſupper *, the citizens put out their lights, " that they might not appear to indulge themſelves " at unſeaſonable hours; but you, at a late hour, " have ſome of the meaneſt and moſt audacious of " the people about you with torches in their hands †." And Titus Annius, a man of no character in point of morals, but an acute diſputant, and remarkable for the ſubtlety both of his queſtions and anſwers, one day challenged Tiberius, and offered to prove him guilty of a great offence in depoſing one of his colleagues, whoſe perſon by the laws was ſacred and inviolable. This propoſition raiſed a tumult in the audience, and Tiberius immediately went out and called an aſſembly of the people, deſigning to accuſe Annius of the indignity he had offered him. Annius

* Probably from the public hall where he ſupped with his colleague.

† Ὅτι τὸ μὲν πατρὸς αὐτὸ τιμητεύοντος, ὁσάκις ἀναλυοι μετὰ δεῖπνον οἴκαδε, τὰ φῶτα κατεσβέννυσαν οἱ πολῖται, φοβούμενοι μὴ πορρωτέρω τὸ μετρίως δοξάζειν ἐν συνουσίαις εἶναι καὶ ποτοις. Other tranſlators have paraphraſed this paſſage, and given it a different ſenſe from what the Greek ſeems to bear.

appeared; and knowing himſelf greatly inferior both in eloquence and reputation, he had recourſe to his old art, and begged leave only to aſk him a queſtion before the buſineſs came on. Tiberius conſented, and ſilence being made, Annius ſaid, "Would you "fix a mark of diſgrace and infamy upon me, if I "ſhould appeal to one of your colleagues? And if "he came to my aſſiſtance, would you in your anger "deprive him of his office." It is ſaid, that this queſtion ſo puzzled Tiberius, that with all his readineſs of ſpeech, and propriety of aſſurance, he made no manner of anſwer.

He therefore diſmiſſed the aſſembly, for the preſent. He perceived, however, that the ſtep he had taken in depoſing a tribune, had offended not only the Patricians but the people too; for by ſuch a precedent he appeared to have robbed that high office of its dignity, which 'till then had been preſerved in great ſecurity and honour. In conſequence of this reflection, he called the commons together again, and made a ſpeech to them, from which it may not be amiſs to give an extract, by way of ſpecimen of the power and ſtrength of his eloquence. "The "perſon of a tribune, I acknowledge, is ſacred and "inviolable, becauſe he is conſecrated to the peo-"ple, and takes their intereſts under his protection. "But when he deſerts thoſe intereſts, and becomes "an oppreſſor of the people, when he retrenches "their privileges, and takes away their liberty of "voting, by thoſe acts he deprives himſelf, for he "no longer keeps to the intention of his employ-"ment. Otherwiſe, if a tribune ſhould demoliſh "the capitol, and burn the docks and naval ſtores, "his perſon could not be touched. A man who "ſhould do ſuch things as thoſe, might ſtill be a "tribune, though a vile one; but he who dimi-"niſhes the privileges of the people, ceaſes to be a "tribune of the people. Does it not ſhock you to "think, that a tribune ſhould be able to impriſon a

"conſul, and the people not have it in their power "to deprive a tribune of his authority, when he "uſes it againſt thoſe who gave it? For the tri- "bunes, as well as the conſuls, are elected by the "people. Kingly government ſeems to comprehend "all authority in itſelf, and kings are conſecrated "with the moſt aweful ceremonies: yet the citizens "expelled Tarquin, when his adminiſtration became "iniquitous; and, for the offence of one man, the "ancient government, under whoſe auſpices Rome "was erected, was entirely aboliſhed. What is "there in Rome ſo ſacred and venerable as the veſtal "virgins, who keep the perpetual fire? Yet if any "of them tranſgreſſes the rules of her order, ſhe is "buried alive. For they who are guilty of impiety "againſt the gods, loſe that ſacred character, which "they had only for the ſake of the gods. So a tri- "bune who injures the people, can be no longer "ſacred and inviolable on the people's account. He "deſtroys that power in which alone his ſtrength lay. "If it is juſt for him to be inveſted with the tri- "bunitial authority by a majority of tribes, is it not "more juſt for him to be depoſed by the ſuffrages "of them all? What is more ſacred and inviolable "than the offerings in the temples of the gods? "yet none pretends to hinder the people from mak- "ing uſe of them, or removing them wherever they "pleaſe. And, indeed, that the tribune's office is not "inviolable or unremoveable, appears from hence, "that ſeveral have voluntarily laid it down, or been "diſcharged at their own requeſt." Theſe were the heads of Tiberius's defence.

His friends, however, being ſenſible of the menaces of his enemies, and the combination to deſtroy him, were of opinion that he ought to make intereſt to get the tribuneſhip continued to him another year. For this purpoſe he thought of other laws, to ſecure the commonalty on his ſide; that for ſhortening the time of military ſervice, and that for granting an appeal

peal from the judges to the people. The bench of judges at that time conſiſted of ſenators only, but he ordered an equal number of knights and ſenators; though it muſt be confeſſed, that his taking every poſſible method to reduce the power of the Patricians, ſavoured more of obſtinacy and reſentment, than of a regard for juſtice and the public good.

When the day came for it to be put to the vote whether theſe laws ſhould be ratified, Tiberius and his party perceiving that their adverſaries were the ſtrongeſt (for all the people did not attend) ſpun out the time in altercations with the other tribunes; and at laſt he adjourned the aſſembly to the day following. In the mean time he entered the *forum* with all the enſigns of diſtreſs, and with tears in his eyes humbly applied to the citizens, aſſuring them, "he was "afraid that his enemies would demoliſh his houſe, "and take his life before the next morning." This affected them ſo much, that numbers erected tents before his door, and guarded him all night.

At day-break the perſon who had the care of the chickens which they uſe in Augury, brought them, and ſet meat before them; but they would none of them come out of their penn, except one, though the man ſhook it very much: and that one would not eat*; it only raiſed up it's left wing, and ſtretched out it's leg, and then went in again. This put Tiberius in mind of a former ill omen. He had a helmet that he wore in battle, finely ornamented and remarkably magnificent; two ſerpents that had crept into it privately, laid their eggs, and hatched in it. Such a bad preſage made him more afraid of the late one. Yet he ſet out for the capitol, as ſoon as he underſtood that the people were aſſembled there. But in going out of his houſe, he ſtumbled upon the threſhold, and ſtruck it with ſo much violence, that the nail of his great toe was broken, and the blood flowed

* When the chickens eat greedily, they thought it a ſign of good fortune.

ſlowed from the wound. When he had got a little on his way, he ſaw on his left hand two ravens fighting on the top of a houſe, and though he was attended, on account of his dignity, by great numbers of people, a ſtone which one of the ravens threw down, fell cloſe by his foot. This ſtaggered the boldeſt of his partizans. But Bloſſius * of Cumae, one of his train, ſaid, "It would be an inſupportable diſgrace, if Tiberius the ſon of Gracchus, grandſon of Scipio Africanus, and protector of the people of Rome, ſhould, for fear of a raven, diſappoint that people when they called him to their aſſiſtance. His enemies," he aſſured him, "would not be ſatisfied with laughing at this falſe ſtep; they would repreſent him to the commons as already taking all the inſolence of a tyrant upon him."

At the ſame time ſeveral meſſengers from his friends in the capitol, came and deſired him to make haſte, for (they told him) every thing went there according to his wiſh.

At firſt, indeed, there was a moſt promiſing appearance. When the aſſembly ſaw him at a diſtance, they expreſſed their joy in the loudeſt acclamations; on his approach they received him with the utmoſt cordiality, and formed a circle about him, to keep all ſtrangers off. Mutius then began to call over the tribes, in order to buſineſs; but nothing could be done in the uſual form, by reaſon of the diſturbance made by the populace, who were ſtill preſſing forward. Mean time, Fulvius † Flaccus, a ſenator, got upon an eminence, and knowing he could not be heard, made a ſign with his hand, that he had ſomething to ſay to Tiberius in private. Tiberius having ordered the people to make way, Flaccus with much difficulty got to him, and informed him, "That thoſe of

* In the printed text it is Blaſtus; but one of the manuſcripts gives us Bloſſius, and all the tranſlators have followed it.

† Not *Flavius*, as it is in the printed text.

" of the landed intereſt had applied to the conſul, " while the ſenate was ſitting, and, as they could " not bring that magiſtrate into their views, they " had reſolved to diſpatch Tiberius themſelves, and " for that purpoſe had armed a number of their " friends and ſlaves."

Tiberius no ſooner communicated this intelligence to thoſe about him, than they tucked up their gowns, ſeized the halberts with which the ſerjeants kept off the crowd, broke them, and took the pieces, to ward againſt any aſſault that might be made. Such as were at a diſtance, much ſurpriſed at this incident, aſked what the reaſon might be; and Tiberius finding they could not hear him, touched his head with his hand, to ſignify the danger he was in. His adverſaries ſeeing this, ran to the ſenate, and informed them that Tiberius demanded the diadem; alledging that geſture as a proof of it.

This raiſed a great commotion. Naſica called upon the conſul to defend the commonwealth, and deſtroy the tyrant. The conſul mildly anſwered, " That he would not begin to uſe violence, nor " would he put any citizen to death who was not le- " gally condemned; but, if Tiberius ſhould either " perſuade or force the people to decree any thing " contrary to the conſtitution, he would take care " to annul it." Upon which, Naſica ſtarted up, " and ſaid, " Since the conſul gives up his country, " let all who chuſe to ſupport the laws follow me." So ſaying, he covered his head with the ſkirt of his robe, and then advanced to the capitol. Thoſe who followed him, wrapped each his gown about his hand, and made their way through the crowd. Indeed, on account of their ſuperior quality, they met with no reſiſtance; on the contrary, the people trampled on one another, to get out of their way. Their attendants had brought clubs and bludgeons with them from home, and the patricians themſelves ſeized the feet of the benches which the populace had

had broken in their flight. Thus armed, they made towards Tiberius; knocking down ſuch as ſtood before him. Theſe being killed or diſperſed, Tiberius likewiſe fled. One of his enemies laid hold on his gown; but he let it go, and continued his flight in his under-garment. He happened, however, to ſtumble and fall upon ſome of the killed. As he was recovering himſelf, Publius Satureius, one of his colleagues, came up openly, and ſtruck him on the head with the foot of a ſtool. The ſecond blow was given him by Lucius Rufus, who afterwards valued himſelf upon it as a glorious exploit. Above three hundred more loſt their lives by clubs and ſtones, but not a man by the ſword.

This is ſaid to have been the firſt ſedition in Rome, ſince the expulſion of the kings, in which the blood of any citizen was ſhed. All the reſt, though neither ſmall in themſelves, nor about matters of little conſequence, were appeaſed by mutual conceſſions; the ſenate giving up ſomething, on one ſide, for fear of the people, and the people, on the other, out of reſpect for the ſenate. Had Tiberius been moderately dealt with, it is probable that he would have compromiſed matters in a much eaſier way; and certainly he might have been reduced, without their depriving him of his life; for he had not above three thouſand men about him. But, it ſeems, the conſpiracy was formed againſt him, rather to ſatisfy the reſentment and malignity of the rich, than for the reaſons they held out to the public. A ſtrong proof of this we have in their cruel and abominable treatment of his dead body. For, notwithſtanding the intreaties of his brother, they would not permit him to take away the corpſe, and bury it in the night, but threw it into the river with the other carcaſes. Nor was this all: they baniſhed ſome of his friends without form of trial, and took others and put them to death. Among the latter was Diophanes the rhetorician. One Caius Billius they ſhut up in a caſk with

with vipers and other ſerpents, and left him to periſh in that cruel manner. As for Bloſſius of Cumae, he was carried before the conſuls, and being interrogated about the late proceedings, he declared, that he had never failed to execute whatever Tiberius commanded *. "What then (ſaid Naſica) if Tiberius had ordered thee to burn the capitol, wouldſt "though have done it?" At firſt he turned it off, and ſaid, "Tiberius would never have given him "ſuch an order." But when a number repeated the ſame queſtion ſeveral times, he ſaid, "In that caſe I "ſhould have thought it extremely right; for Tiberius would never have laid ſuch a command upon "me, if it had not been for the advantage of the "people of Rome." He eſcaped, however, with his life, and afterwards repaired to Ariſtonicus † in Aſia; but finding that prince's affairs entirely ruined, he laid violent hands on himſelf.

The ſenate, now deſirous to reconcile the people to theſe acts of theirs, no longer oppoſed the Agrarian law; and they permitted them to elect another commiſſioner, in the room of Tiberius, for dividing the

* Laelius, in the treatiſe written by Cicero under that name, gives a different account of the matter. "Bloſſius," he ſays, "after the murder of Tiberius, came to him, whilſt he was in "conference with the conſuls Popilius Laenas, and Publius Rupilius, and earneſtly begged for a pardon, alleging in his "defence that, ſuch was his veneration for Tiberius, he could "not refuſe to do any thing he deſired. If then, ſaid Lælius "he had ordered you to ſet fire to the capitol, would you have "done it? That, replied Bloſſius, he would never have ordered me to do; but if he had, I ſhould have obeyed him." Bloſſius does not, upon this occaſion, appear to have been under a judicial examination, as Plutarch repreſents him.

† Ariſtonicus was a baſtard brother of Attalus; and being highly offended at him for bequeathing his kingdom to the Romans, he attempted to get poſſeſſion of it by arms, and made himſelf maſter of ſeveral towns. The Romans ſent Craſſus the conſul againſt him, the ſecond year after the death of Tiberius. Craſſus was defeated and taken by Ariſtonicus. The year following, Ariſtonicus was defeated in his turn, and taken priſoner by Perpenna.

the lands. In conſequence of which, they choſe Publius Craſſus, a relation of the Gracchi; for Caius Gracchus had married his daughter Licinia. Cornelius Nepos, indeed, ſays, it was not the daughter of Craſſus, but of that Brutus who was honoured with a triumph for his conqueſts in Luſitania; but moſt hiſtorians give it for the former.

Nevertheleſs, the people were ſtill much concerned at the loſs of Tiberius, and it was plain that they only waited for an opportunity of revenge. Naſica was now threatened with an impeachment. The ſenate, therefore, dreading the conſequence, ſent him into Aſia, though there was no need of him there. For the people, whenever they met him, did not ſuppreſs their reſentment in the leaſt: on the contrary, with all the violence that hatred could ſuggeſt, they called him an execrable wretch, a tyrant who had defiled the holieſt and moſt aweful temple in Rome with the blood of a magiſtrate whoſe perſon ought to have been ſacred and inviolable.

For this reaſon Naſica privately quitted Italy, though by his office he was obliged to attend the principal ſacrifices, for he was chief pontiff. Thus he wandered from place to place in a foreign country, and after a while died at Pergamus. Nor is it to be wondered that the people had ſo unconquerable an averſion to Naſica, ſince Scipio Africanus himſelf, who ſeems to have been one of the greateſt favourites of the Romans, as well as to have had great right to their affection, was near forfeiting all the kind regards of the people, becauſe when the news of Tiberius's death was brought to Numantia, he expreſſed himſelf in that verſe of Homer,

So periſh all that in ſuch crimes engage *.

Afterwards Caius and Fulvius aſked him in an aſſembly of the people, what he thought of the death of

* In Minerva's ſpeech to Jupiter. Odyſ. l. 1.

of Tiberius, and by his anſwer he gave them to underſtand that he was far from approving of his proceedings. Ever after this, the commons interrupted him when he ſpoke in public, though they had offered him no ſuch affront before; and on the other hand, he ſcrupled not to treat them with very ſevere language. But theſe things we have related at large in the life of Scipio.

CAIUS

CAIUS GRACCHUS.

WHETHER it was that Caius Gracchus was afraid of his enemies, or wanted to make them more obnoxious to the people, at firſt he left the *forum*, and kept cloſe in his own houſe; like one who was either ſenſible how much his family was reduced, or who intended to make public buſineſs no more his object. Inſomuch that ſome ſcrupled not to affirm that he diſapproved and even deteſted his brother's adminiſtration. He was, indeed, as yet very young, not being ſo old as Tiberius by nine years; and Tiberius at his death was not quite thirty. However, in a ſhort time it appeared that he had an averſion not only to idleneſs and effeminacy, but to intemperance and avarice. And he improved his powers of oratory, as if he conſidered them as the wings on which he muſt riſe to the great offices of ſtate. Theſe circumſtances ſhewed that he would not long continue inactive.

In the defence of one of his friends named Vettius, he exerted ſo much eloquence, that the people were charmed beyond expreſſion, and borne away with all the tranſports of enthuſiaſm. On this occaſion he ſhewed that other orators were no more than children in compariſon. The nobility had all their former apprehenſions renewed, and they began to take meaſures among themſelves to prevent the advancement of Caius to the tribunitial power.

It happened to fall to his lot to attend Oreſtes* the conſul in Sardinia in capacity of quaeſtor. This gave his enemies great pleaſure. Caius, however,

* Lucius Aurelius Oreſtes was conſul with Emilius Lepidus the year of Rome 627. So that Caius went quaeſtor into Sardinia at the age of 27.

was not uneaſy on the event; for he was of a military turn, and had as good talents for the camp as for the bar. Beſides, he was under ſome apprehenſion about taking a ſhare in the adminiſtration, or of appearing upon the *roſtra*, and at the ſame time he knew that he could not reſiſt the importunities of the people or of his friends. For theſe reaſons he thought himſelf happy in the opportunity of going abroad.

It is a common opinion, that of his own accord he became a violent demagogue, and that he was much more ſtudious than Tiberius to make himſelf popular. But that is not the truth. On the contrary, it ſeems to have been rather neceſſity than choice, that brought him upon the public ſtage. For Cicero the orator relates, that when Caius avoided all offices in the ſtate, and had taken a reſolution to live perfectly quiet, his brother appeared to him in a dream, and thus addreſſed him, "Why lingereſt thou, Caius? "There is no alternative. The fates have decreed "us both the ſame purſuit of life, and the ſame "death, in vindicating the rights of the people."

In Sardinia, Caius gave a noble ſpecimen of every virtue, diſtinguiſhing himſelf greatly among the other young Romans, not only in his operations againſt the enemy, and in acts of juſtice to ſuch as ſubmitted, but in his reſpectful and obliging behaviour to the general. In temperance, in ſimplicity of diet, and love of labour, he excelled even the veterans.

There followed a ſevere and ſickly winter in Sardinia, and the general demanded of the cities clothing for his men. But they ſent a deputation to Rome to ſollicit an exemption from this burthen. The ſenate liſtened to their requeſt, and ordered the general to take ſome other method. As he could not think of withdrawing his demands, and the ſoldiers ſuffered much in the mean time, Caius applied to the towns in perſon, and prevailed with them to ſend the Romans a voluntary ſupply of clothing. News of this being

being brought to Rome, and the whole looking like a prelude to future attemps at popularity, the ſenate were greatly diſturbed at it. Another inſtance they gave of their jealouſy, was in the ill reception which the ambaſſadors of Micipſa found, who came to acquaint them, that the king their maſter, out of regard to Caius Gracchus, had ſent their general in Sardinia a large quantity of corn. The ambaſſadors were turned out of the houſe; and the ſenate proceeded to make a decree that the private men in Sardina ſhould be relieved, but that Oreſtes ſhould remain, in order that he might keep his quaeſtor with him. An account of this being brought to Caius, his anger overcame him ſo far that he embarked; and as he made his appearance in Rome when none expected him, he was not only cenſured by his enemies, but the people in general thought it ſingular, that the quaeſtor ſhould return before his general. An information was laid againſt him before the cenſors, and he obtained permiſſion to ſpeak for himſelf: which he did ſo effectually, that the whole court changed their opinions, and were perſuaded that he was very much injured. For he told them, "he "had ſerved twelve campaigns, whereas he was not "obliged to ſerve more than ten; and that in capa- "city of quaeſtor, he had attended his general three "years * though the laws did not require him to do "it more than one." He added, "that he was "the only man who went out with a full purſe, and "returned with an empty one, while others, after "having drank the wine they carried out, brought "back the veſſels filled with gold and ſilver."

After this, they brought other charges againſt him. They accuſed him of promoting diſaffection among the allies, and of being concerned in the conſpiracy

* Great part of this ſpeech is preſerved by Aulus Gellius; but there Caius ſays he had been quaeſtor only two years *Biennium enim fui in provincia.* Aul. Gell. l. xii. c. 15.

of Fregellae *, which was detected about that time. He cleared himſelf, however, of all ſuſpicion; and having fully proved his innocence, offered himſelf to the people as a candidate for the tribuneſhip. The patricians united their forces to oppoſe him; but ſuch a number of people came in from all parts of Italy to ſupport his election, that many of them could not get lodging, and the *campus martius* not being large enough to contain them, gave their voices from the tops of houſes.

All that the nobility could gain of the people, and all the mortification that Caius had, was this: inſtead of being returned firſt, as he had flattered himſelf he ſhould be, he was returned the fourth. But when he had entered upon his office, he ſoon became the leading tribune, partly by means of his eloquence, in which he was greatly ſuperior to the reſt, and partly on account of the misfortunes of his family, which gave him opportunity to bewail the cruel fate of his brother. For whatever ſubject he began upon, before he had done, he led the people back to that idea, and at the ſame time put them in mind of the different behaviour of their anceſtors. "Your forefathers," ſaid he, "declared war againſt "the Faliſci, in order to revenge the cauſe of Genu- "cius, one of their tribunes, to whom that people "had given ſcurrilous language; and they thought "capital puniſhment little enough for Caius Vettu- "rius, becauſe he alone did not break way for a "tribune who was paſſing through the *forum*. But "you ſuffered Tiberius to be diſpatched with "bludgeons before your eyes, and his dead body to "be dragged from the capitol through the middle "of the city, in order to be thrown into the river. "Such of his friends, too, as fell into their hands, "were put to death without form of trial. Yet, by "the

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* This place was deſtroyed by Lucius Opimius the prætor, in the year of Rome 629.

" the cuſtom of our country, if any perſon under a " proſecution for a capital crime, did not appear, an " officer was ſent to his door in the morning, to ſum- " mon him by ſound of trumpet, and the judges " would never paſs ſentence before ſo public a cita- " tion. So tender were our anceſtors in any matter " where the life of a citizen was concerned."

Having prepared the people by ſuch ſpeeches as this (for his voice was ſtrong enough to be heard by ſo great a multitude) he propoſed two laws. One was, " That if the people depoſed any magiſtrate, " he ſhould from that time be incapable of bearing " any public office:" The other, " That if any ma- " giſtrate ſhould baniſh a citizen without a legal " trial, the people ſhould be authorized to take cog- " nizance of that offence." The firſt of theſe laws plainly referred to Marcus Octavius, whom Tiberius had deprived of the tribuneſhip; and the ſecond to Popilius, who, in his praetorſhip, had baniſhed the friends of Tiberius. In conſequence of the latter, Popilius, afraid to ſtand a trial, fled out of Italy. The other bill Caius dropped, to oblige, as he ſaid, his mother Cornelia, who interpoſed in behalf of Octavius. The people were perfectly ſatisfied; for they honoured Cornelia, not only on account of her children, but of her father. They afterwards erected a ſtatue to her with this inſcription,

CORNELIA THE MOTHER OF THE GRACCHI.

There are ſeveral extraordinary expreſſions of Caius Gracchus handed down to us concerning his mother. To one of her enemies he ſaid, " Dareſt thou pretend " to reflect on Cornelia the mother of Tiberius?" And as that perſon had ſpent his youth in an infamous manner, he ſaid, " With what front canſt " thou put thyſelf upon a footing with Cornelia? " Haſt thou brought children as ſhe has done? Yet " all Rome knows that ſhe has lived longer than " thou haſt without any commerce with men."

Such was the keenneſs of his language; and many expreſſions equally ſevere might be collected out of his writings.

Among the laws which he procured, to increaſe the authority of the people, and leſſen that of the ſenate, one related to colonizing, and dividing the public lands among the poor. Another was in favour of the army, who were now to be clothed at the public charge, without diminution of their pay, and none were to ſerve 'till they were full ſeventeen years old. A third was for the benefit of the Italian allies, who were to have the ſame right of voting at elections as the citizens of Rome. By a fourth the markets were regulated, and the poor enabled to buy bread-corn at a cheaper rate. A fifth related to the courts of judicature, and indeed contributed more than any thing to retrench the power of the ſenate. For, before this, ſenators only were judges in all cauſes, and on that account their body was formidable both to the equeſtrian order and to the people. But now he added three hundred knights to the three hundred ſenators, and decreed that a judicial authority ſhould be equally inveſted in the ſix hundred *. In offering this bill, he exerted himſelf greatly in all reſpects, but there was one thing very remarkable: whereas the orators before him, in all addreſſes to the people, ſtood with their faces towards the ſenate-houſe and the *comitium*, he then, for the firſt time, turned the other way, that is to ſay, towards the *forum*, and continued to ſpeak in that poſition ever after. Thus by a ſmall alteration in the poſture of his body, he indicated ſomething very great, and, as it were, turned the government from an ariſtocracy into

* The authorities of all Antiquity are againſt Plutarch in this article. Caius did not aſſociate the knights and the ſenators in the judicial power; but veſted that power in the knights only, and they enjoyed it, 'till the conſulſhip of Servilius Caepio, for the ſpace of ſixteen or ſeventeen years. Velleius, Aſcanius, Appian, Livy, and Cicero himſelf, ſufficiently prove this.

into a democratic form. For, by this action, he intimated, that all orators ought to addreſs themſelves to the people, and not to the ſenate.

As the people not only ratified this law, but impowered him to ſelect the three hundred out of the equeſtrian order for judges, he found himſelf in a manner poſſeſſed of ſovereign power. Even the ſenate in their deliberations were willing to liſten to his advice; and he never gave them any that was not ſuitable to their dignity. That wiſe and moderate decree, for inſtance, was of his ſuggeſting, concerning the corn which Fabius, when *propraetor* in Spain, ſent from that country. Caius perſuaded the ſenate to ſell the corn, and ſend the money to the Spaniſh ſtates; and at the ſame time to cenſure Fabius for rendering the Roman government odious and inſupportable to the people of that country. This gained him great reſpect and favour in the provinces.

He procured other decrees for ſending out colonies, for making roads, and for building public granaries. In all theſe matters he was appointed ſupreme director, and yet was far from thinking ſo much buſineſs a fatigue. On the contrary, he applied to the whole with as much activity, and diſpatched it with as much eaſe, as if there had been only one thing for him to attend to: inſomuch that they who both hated and feared the man, were ſtruck with his amazing induſtry and the celerity of his operations. The people were charmed to ſee him followed by ſuch numbers of architects, artificers, ambaſſadors, magiſtrates, military men, and men of letters. Theſe were all kindly received; yet amidſt his civilities he preſerved a dignity, addreſſing each according to his capacity and ſtation: by which he ſhewed how unjuſt the cenſures of thoſe people were, who repreſented him as a violent and overbearing man. For he had even a more popular manner in converſation and in buſineſs, than in his addreſſes from the *roſtrum*.

The work that he took moſt pains with, was that of the public roads; in which he paid a regard to beauty as well as uſe. They were drawn in a ſtrait line through the country, and either paved with hewn ſtone, or made of a binding ſand brought thither for that purpoſe. When he met with dells or other deep holes made by land-floods, he either filled them up with rubbiſh, or laid bridges over them; ſo that being levelled and brought to a perfect parallel on both ſides, they afforded a regular and elegant proſpect through the whole. Beſides, he divided all the roads into miles, of near eight furlongs each, and ſet up pillars of ſtone to mark the diviſions. He likewiſe erected other ſtones at proper diſtances on each ſide of the way, to aſſiſt travellers, who rode without ſervants, to mount their horſes.

The people extolled his performances, and there was no inſtance of their affection that he might not have expected. In one of his ſpeeches he told them, "there was one thing in particular, which he ſhould "eſteem as a greater favour than all the reſt, if "they indulged him in it, and if they denied it, he "would not complain." By this it was imagined that he meant the conſulſhip; and the commons expected that he would deſire to be conſul and tribune at the ſame time. When the day of election of conſuls came, and all were waiting with anxiety to ſee what declaration he would make, he conducted Caius Fannius into the *campus martius*, and joined with his friends in the canvaſs. This greatly inclined the ſcale on Fannius's ſide, and he was immediately created conſul. Caius too, without the leaſt application, or even declaring himſelf a candidate, merely through the zeal and affection of the people, was appointed tribune the ſecond time.

Finding, however, that the ſenate avowed their averſion to him, and that the regards of Fannius grew cold, he thought of new laws which might ſecure

ſecure the people in his intereſt. Such were thoſe for ſending colonies to Tarentum and Capua, and for granting the Latins all the rights and privileges of citizens of Rome. The ſenate now apprehending that his power would ſoon become entirely uncontroulable, took a new and unheard-of method to draw the people from him, by gratifying them in every thing, however contrary to the true intereſts of the ſtate.

Among the colleagues of Caius Gracchus, there was one named Livius Druſus; a man who in birth and education was not behind any of the Romans, and who in point of eloquence and wealth might vie with the greateſt and moſt powerful men of his time. To him the nobility applied; exhorting him to ſet himſelf up againſt Caius, and join them in oppoſing him; not in the way of force, or in any thing that might offend the commons, but in directing all his meaſures to pleaſe them, and granting them things which it would have been an honour to refuſe at the hazard of their utmoſt reſentment.

Druſus agreed to liſt in the ſervice of the ſenate, and to apply all the power of his office to their views. He therefore propoſed laws which had nothing in them either honourable or advantageous to the community. His ſole view was to outdo Caius in flattering and pleaſing the multitude, and for this purpoſe he contended with him, like a commedian upon a ſtage. Thus the ſenate plainly diſcovered, that it was not ſo much the meaſures of Caius, as the man, they were offended with, and that they were reſolved to take every method to humble or deſtroy him. For when he procured a decree for ſending out two colonies only, which were to conſiſt of ſome of the moſt deſerving citizens, they accuſed him of ingratiating himſelf by undue methods with the plebeians. But when Druſus ſent out twelve, and ſelected three hundred of the meaneſt of the people for each, they patronized the whole ſcheme. When Caius divided the

the public lands among the poor citizens, on condition that they ſhould pay a ſmall rent into the treaſury, they inveighed againſt him as a flatterer of the populace; but Druſus had their praiſe for diſcharging the lands even of that acknowledgment. Caius procured the Latins the privilege of voting as citizens of Rome, and the patricians were offended; Druſus, on the contrary, was ſupported by them in a law, for exempting the Latin ſoldiers from being flogged, though upon ſervice, for any miſdemeanor. Mean time Druſus aſſerted, in all his ſpeeches, that the ſenate, in their great regard for the commons, put him upon propoſing ſuch advantageous decrees. This was the only good thing in his manoeuvres; for by theſe arts the people became better affected to the ſenate. Before, they had ſuſpected and hated the leaders of that body; but Druſus appeaſed their reſentment, and removed their averſion, by aſſuring them that the patricians were the firſt movers of all theſe popular laws.

What contributed moſt to ſatisfy the people as to the ſincerity of his regard, and the purity of his intentions, was, that Druſus, in all his edicts, appeared not to have the leaſt view to his own intereſt. For he employed others as commiſſioners for planting the new colonies; and if there was an affair of money, he would have no concern with it himſelf; whereas Caius choſe to preſide in the greateſt and moſt important matters of that kind. Rubrius, one of his colleagues, having procured an order for rebuilding and colonizing Carthage, which had been deſtroyed by Scipio, it fell to the lot of Caius to execute that commiſſion, and in purſuance thereof he ſailed to Africa. Druſus took advantage of his abſence to gain more ground upon him, and to eſtabliſh himſelf in the favour of the people. To lay an information againſt Fulvius he thought would be very conducive to this end.

Fulvius was a particular friend of Caius, and his aſſiſtant in the diſtribution of the lands. At the ſame time he was a factious man, and known to be upon ill terms with the ſenate. Others, beſide the patricians, ſuſpected him of raiſing commotions among the allies, and of privately exciting the Italians to a revolt. Theſe things, indeed, were ſaid without evidence or proof; but Fulvius himſelf gave ſtrength to the report by his unpeaceable and unſalutary conduct. Caius, as his acquaintance, came in for his ſhare of the diſlike, and this was one of the principal things that brought on his ruin.

Beſides, when Scipio Africanus died without any previous ſickneſs, and (as we have obſerved in his life) there appeared marks of violence upon his body, moſt people laid it to the charge of Fulvius, who was his avowed enemy, and had that very day abuſed him from the *roſtrum*. Nor was Caius himſelf unſuſpected. Yet ſo execrable a crime as this, committed againſt the firſt and greateſt man in Rome, eſcaped with impunity; nay, it was not even enquired into. For the people prevented any cognizance of it from being taken, out of fear for Caius, leſt upon a ſtrict inquiſition he ſhould be found acceſſary to the murder. But this happened ſome time before.

While Caius was employed in Africa in the reeſtabliſhment of Carthage, the name of which he changed to *Junonia**, he was interrupted by ſeveral inauſpicious omens. The ſtaff of the firſt ſtandard was broken, between the violent efforts of the wind to tear it away, and thoſe of the enſign to hold it. Another ſtorm of wind blew the ſacrifices from the altars, and bore them beyond the bounds marked out for the city; and the wolves came, and ſeized the marks themſelves, and carried them to a great diſtance.

* Quam Juno fertur terris magis omnibus unam
Poſthabitâ coluiſſe ſamo. —— Virgil.

diſtance. Caius, however, brought every thing under good regulations in the ſpace of ſeventy days, and then returned to Rome, where he underſtood that Fulvius was hard preſſed by Druſus, and affairs demanded his preſence. For, Lucius Opimius *, who was of the patrician party, and very powerful in the ſenate, had lately been unſucceſsful in his application for the conſulſhip, through the oppoſition of Caius, and his ſupport of Fannius; but now his intereſt was greatly ſtrengthened, and it was thought he would be choſen the following year. It was expected, too, that the conſulſhip would enable him to ruin Caius, whoſe intereſt was already upon the decline. Indeed, by this time the people were cloyed with indulgence; becauſe there were many beſide Caius, who flattered them in all the meaſures of adminiſtration, and the ſenate ſaw them do it with pleaſure.

At his return, he removed his lodgings from the Palatine Mount to the neighbourhood of the *forum*: in which he had a view to popularity; for many of the meaneſt and moſt indigent of the commonalty dwelt there. After this, he propoſed the reſt of his laws, in order to their being ratified by the ſuffrages of the people. As the populace came to him from all quarters, the ſenate perſuaded the conſul Fannius to command all perſons to depart the city who were not Romans by birth. Upon this ſtrange and unuſual proclamation, that none of the allies or friends of the republic ſhould remain in Rome, or, though citizens, be permitted to vote, Caius, in his turn, publiſhed articles of impeachment againſt the conſul, and at the ſame time declared, he would protect the allies, if they would ſtay. He did not, however, perform

* In the printed text it is *Hoſtilius*, but it ſhould be *Opimius*: for he was conſul the year following with Q. Fabius Maximus, which was the year of Rome 631. Plutarch himſelf calls him *Opimius* a little after. *Hoſtilius*, therefore, muſt be a falſe reading; and, indeed, one of the manuſcripts gives us *Opimius* here.

perform his promiſe. On the contrary, he ſuffered the conſul's *lictors* to take away a perſon before his eyes, who was connected with him by the ties of hoſpitality, without giving him the leaſt aſſiſtance: whether it was that he feared to ſhew how much his ſtrength was diminiſhed, or whether (as he alledged) he did not chuſe to give his enemies occaſion to have recourſe to the ſword, who only ſought a pretence for it.

He happened, moreover, to be at variance with his colleagues, The reaſon was this: There was a ſhow of gladiators to be exhibited to the people in the *forum*, and moſt of the magiſtrates had cauſed ſcaffolds to be erected around the place, in order to lett them out for hire. Caius inſiſted that they ſhould be taken down, that the poor might ſee the exhibition without paying for it. As none of the proprietors regarded his orders, he waited 'till the night preceding the ſhow, and then went with his own workmen, and demoliſhed the ſcaffolds. Next day the populace ſaw the place quite clear for them, and of courſe they admired him as a man of ſuperior ſpirit. But his colleagues were greatly offended at his violent temper and meaſures. This ſeems to have been the cauſe of his miſcarriage in his application for a third tribuneſhip; for, it ſeems, he had a majority of voices, but his colleagues are ſaid to have procured a fraudulent and unjuſt return. Be that as it may (for it was a matter of ſome doubt), it is certain that he did not bear his diſappointment with patience; but when he ſaw his adverſaries laugh, he told them, with too much inſolence, "Their laugh was of the "ſardonic* kind, for they did not perceive how "much their actions were eclipſed by his."

After

* It is not eaſy to ſee the propriety of this expreſſion as it is uſed here. The ſardonic laugh was an involuntary diſtention of the muſcles of the mouth, occaſioned by a poiſonous plant; and perſons that died of this poiſon had a ſmile on their contenances.

Hence

After Opimius was elected conſul, he prepared to repeal many of Caius's laws, and to annul his eſtabliſhment at Carthage, on purpoſe to provoke him to ſome act of violence, and to gain an opportunity to deſtroy him. He bore this treatment for ſome time; but afterwards, at the inſtigation of his friends, and of Fulvius in particular, he began to raiſe an oppoſition once more againſt the conſul. Some ſay, his mother on this occaſion entered into the intrigues of the party, and having privately taken ſome ſtrangers into pay, ſent them into Rome in the diſguiſe of reapers; and they aſſert that theſe things are enigmatically hinted at in her letters to her ſon. But others ſay, Cornelia was much diſpleaſed at theſe meaſures.

When the day came, on which Opimius was to get thoſe laws repealed, both parties early in the morning poſted themſelves in the capitol; and after the conſul had ſacrificed, Quintus Antyllius, one of his *lictors*, who was carrying out the entrails of the victims, ſaid to Fulvius and his friends, "Stand off, "ye factious citizens, and make way for honeſt "men." Some add, that, along with this ſcurrilous language, he ſtretched his naked arm towards them in a form that expreſſed the utmoſt contempt. They immediately killed Antyllius with long ſtyles, ſaid to have been made for ſuch a purpoſe.

The people were much chagrined at this act of violence. As for the two chiefs, they made very different reflections upon the event. Caius was concerned at it, and reproached his partizans with having given their enemies the handle they long had wanted. Opimius rejoiced at the opportunity, and excited the people

Hence it came to ſignify forced or affected laughter; but why the laughter of Gracchus's opponents ſhould be called forced or ſardonic, becauſe they did not perceive his ſuperiority, it does not appear. It might more properly have been called affected if they did perceive it. Indeed if every ſpecies of unreaſonable laughing may be called ſardonic, it will do ſtill.

people to revenge. But for the preſent they were parted by a heavy rain.

At an early hour next day, the conſul aſſembled the ſenate, and while he was addreſſing them within, others expoſed the corpſe of Antyllius naked on a bier without, and, as it had been previouſly concerted, carried it through the *forum* to the ſenate-houſe, making loud lamentations all the way. Opimius knew the whole farce, but pretended to be much ſurprized. The ſenate went out, and planting themſelves about the corpſe, expreſſed their grief and indignation, as if ſome dreadful misfortune had befallen them. This ſcene, however, excited only hatred and deteſtation in the breaſts of the people, who could not but remember that the nobility had killed Tiberius Gracchus in the capitol, though a tribune, and thrown his body into the river; and yet now when Antyllius, a vile ſerjeant, who poſſibly did not deſerve quite ſo ſevere a puniſhment, but by his impertinence had brought it upon himſelf—when ſuch a hireling lay expoſed in the *forum*, the ſenate of Rome ſtood weeping about him, and then attended the wretch to his funeral; with no other view than to procure the death of the only remaining protector of the people.

On their return to the houſe, they charged Opimius the conſul, by a formal decree, to take every poſſible method for the preſervation of the commonwealth, and the deſtruction of the tyrants. He therefore ordered the patricians to arms, and each of the knights to attend with two ſervants well-armed the next morning. Fulvius, on the other hand, prepared himſelf, and drew together a crowd of people.

Caius, as he returned from the *forum*, ſtood a long time looking upon his father's ſtatue, and after having given vent to his ſorrow in ſome ſighs and tears, retired without uttering a word. Many of the plebeians, who ſaw this, were moved with compaſſion; and

and declaring they ſhould be the moſt daſtardly of Beings, if they abandoned ſuch a man to his enemies, repaired to his houſe to guard him, and paſſed the night before his door. This they did in a very different manner from the people who attended Fulvius on the ſame occaſion. Theſe paſſed their time in noiſe and riot, in carouſing and empty threats; Fulvius himſelf being the firſt man that was intoxicated, and giving into many expreſſions and actions unſuitable to his years. But thoſe about Caius were ſilent, as in a time of public calamity; and, with a thoughtful regard to what was yet to come, they kept watch and took reſt by turns.

Fulvius ſlept ſo ſound after his wine, that it was with difficulty they awoke him at break of day. Then he and his company armed themſelves with the Gallic ſpoils which he had brought off in his conſulſhip, upon his conquering that people; and thus accoutred they ſallied out, with loud menaces, to ſeize the Aventine Hill. As for Caius, he would not arm, but went out in his gown, as if he had been going upon buſineſs in the *forum*; only he had a ſmall dagger under it.

At the gate, his wife threw herſelf at his feet, and taking hold of him with one hand, and of her ſon with the other, ſhe thus expreſſed herſelf—"You "do not now leave me, my dear Caius, as formerly, "to go to the *roſtra*, in capacity of tribune or law-"giver, nor do I ſend you out to a glorious war, "where, if the common lot fell to your ſhare, my "diſtreſs might at leaſt have the conſolation of ho-"nour. You expoſe yourſelf to the murderers of "Tiberius, unarmed indeed, as a man ſhould go, "who had rather ſuffer than commit any violence; "but it is throwing away your life without any ad-"vantage to the community. Faction reigns; out-"rage and the ſword are the only meaſures of ju-"ſtice. Had your brother fallen before Numantia, "the truce would have reſtored us his body; but

"now

" now perhaps I ſhall have to go a ſuppliant to ſome " river or the ſea, to be ſhewn where your remains " may be found. For what confidence can we have " either in the laws or in the Gods after the aſſaſſina- " tion of Tiberius?"

When Licinia had poured out theſe lamentations, Caius diſengaged himſelf as quietly as he could from her arms, and walked on with his friends in deep ſilence. She catched at his gown, but in the attempt fell to the ground, and lay a long time ſpeechleſs. At laſt her ſervants ſeeing her in that condition, took her up, and carried her to her brother Craſſus.

Fulvius, when all the party was aſſembled, liſtened to the advice of Caius, and ſent his younger ſon into the *forum*, equipped like a herald *. He was a youth of moſt engaging appearance, and he approached with great modeſty and tears in his eyes, to propoſe terms of accommodation to the conſul and the ſenate. Many were diſpoſed to hearken to the propoſal; but Opimius ſaid, " The criminals ought " not to treat by heralds, but come in perſon to " make their ſubmiſſion to the ſenate, and ſurrender " themſelves to juſtice, before they interceded for " mercy." At the ſame time, he bade the young man return with an account that theſe conditions were complied with, or not return at all.

Caius was of opinion that they ſhould go and endeavour to reconcile themſelves to the ſenate. But as none of the reſt acceded to that opinion, Fulvius ſent his ſon again with propoſitions much the ſame. Opimius, who was in haſte to begin hoſtilities, immediately took the young man into cuſtody, and marched againſt Fulvius with a numerous body of infantry, and a company of Cretan archers. The latter galled their adverſaries much, and put them in ſuch confuſion that they took to flight. Fulvius hid himſelf in an old neglected bath, where he was ſoon

* Literally, with a caduceus, *or herald's wand in his hand.*

found and put to the ſword, together with his eldeſt ſon. Caius was not ſeen to lift his hand in the fray. On the contrary, he expreſſed the greateſt uneaſineſs at their coming to ſuch extremities, and retired into the temple of Diana. There he would have diſpatched himſelf, but was hindered by Pomponius and Licinius, the moſt faithful of his friends, who took away his poinard, and perſuaded him to try the alternative of flight. On this occaſion he is ſaid to have kneeled down, and with uplifted hands to have prayed to the Deity of that temple, "that the people of "Rome, for their ingratitude and baſe deſertion of "him, might be ſlaves for ever." Indeed, moſt of them, on promiſe of impunity by proclamation, openly went over to the other party.

The enemy purſued Caius with great eagerneſs, and came up with him at the wooden-bridge. His two friends bidding him go forward, planted themſelves before it, and ſuffered no man to paſs 'till they were overpowered and ſlain. One of his ſervants, named Philocrates, accompanied Caius in his flight. All encouraged him to make the beſt of his way, as they do a runner in the liſts, but not one aſſiſted him, or offered him a horſe, though he deſired it, for they ſaw the enemy now almoſt upon him*. He got, however, a little before them into a grove ſacred to the *furies* †, and there cloſed the ſcene; Philocrates firſt diſpatched him, and afterwards himſelf. Some, indeed, ſay, that they both came alive into the enemy's hands, and that the ſlave clung ſo cloſe to his maſter, that they could not come at the one, 'till they had cut the other in pieces. We are told alſo, that after a perſon, whoſe name is not mentioned, had

* Aurelius Victor mentions two of Caius's friends who ſtopped the purſuit of the enemy; Pomponius, at the *Porta Trigemina*, and Laetorius, at the *Pons Sublicius*.

† This grove was called *Lucus Furinae*, and was near the *Pons Sublicius*. The goddeſs had a high prieſt called *Flamen Furinalis*, and annual ſacrifices. Varro de Ling. l. v.

had cut off the head of Caius, and was bearing away his prize, Septimullius, one of * Opimius's friends, took it from him: for at the beginning of the action, the weight in gold had been offered by proclamation either for his head, or for that of Fulvius. Septimullius carried it to Opimius upon the point of a pike; and when put in the ſcales, it was found to weigh ſeventeen pounds eight ounces. For Septimullius had added fraud to his other villainies; he had taken out the brain, and filled the cavity with molten lead. Thoſe who brought in the head of Fulvius, being perſons of no note, had no reward at all.

The bodies of Caius and Fulvius, and the reſt of the ſlain, who were no fewer than three thouſand, were thrown into the river. Their goods were confiſcated and ſold, and their wives forbidden to go into mourning. Licinia was, moreover, deprived of her dowry. The moſt ſavage cruelty was exerciſed upon the younger ſon of Fulvius, who had never borne arms againſt them, nor appeared among the combatants, but was impriſoned when he came with propoſals of peace, and put to death after the battle. But neither this, nor any other inſtance of deſpotiſm, ſo ſenſibly touched the people, as Opimius's building a temple to CONCORD. For by that he appeared to claim honour for what he had done, and in ſome ſort to triumph in the deſtruction of ſo many citizens. Somebody, therefore, in the night, wrote this line under the inſcription on the temple,

Madneſs and Diſcord rear the fane of Concord.

Opimius was the firſt conſul who uſurped the power of a dictator, and condemned three thouſand citizens without any form of juſtice, beſide Caius Gracchus and Fulvius Flaccus; though one of them had been honoured with the conſulſhip and a triumph,

* Pliny and Valerius Maximus ſay, he was an intimate acquaintance of Gracchus's.

and the other both in virtue and reputation was ſuperior to all the men of his time.

Opimius was vile enough to ſuffer himſelf to be corrupted with money. Going afterwards ambaſſador to Jagurtha the Numidian, he took a bribe; and being called to account for it at his return, in a judicial way, he had the mortification to grow old with that infamy upon him. At the ſame time, he was hated and execrated by the commons, who through his means had been reduced to an abject condition. In a little time thoſe commons ſhewed how deeply they regretted the Gracchi. They erected their ſtatues in one of the moſt public parts of the city; they conſecrated the places where they were killed, and offered to them all firſt-fruits according to the ſeaſon of the year. Nay, many offered daily ſacrifices, and paid their devotions there, as in the temples of the Gods.

Cornelia is reported to have borne all theſe misfortunes with a noble magnanimity, and to have ſaid of the conſecrated places in particular, where her ſons loſt their lives, "that they were monuments worthy "of them." She took up her reſidence at Miſenum, and made no alteration in her manner of living. As ſhe had many friends, her table was always open for the purpoſes of hoſpitality. Greeks and other men of letters ſhe had always with her, and all the kings in alliance with Rome expreſſed their regard by ſending her preſents, and receiving the like civilities in return. She made herſelf very agreeable to her gueſts by acquainting them with many particulars of her father Africanus, and of his manner of living. But what they moſt admired in her, was, that ſhe could ſpeak of her ſons without a ſigh or a tear, and recount their actions and ſufferings, as if ſhe had been giving a narrative of ſome ancient heroes. Some, therefore, imagined, that age and the greatneſs of her misfortunes had deprived her of her underſtanding and ſenſibility. But thoſe who were of

that

that opinion ſeem rather to have wanted underſtanding themſelves; ſince they knew not how much a noble mind may by a liberal education be enabled to ſupport itſelf againſt diſtreſs; and that though in the purſuit of rectitude, Fortune may often defeat the purpoſes of VIRTUE, yet VIRTUE in bearing affliction can never loſe her prerogative *.

* Και ὁτι της αρετης ἡ τυχη φυλαττομενοις μεν τα καλα πολλαχις περιεσιν, εν δε τω παισαι το φερειν συλογισως κ παραιτειται. The learned Du Soul here propoſes to read φυλαττομενης inſtead of φυλαττομενοις, and κακα for καλα. There are, indeed, ſome manuſcript authorities for thoſe readings, and the paſſage is capable of a good ſenſe if we accept them, viz. *and that though Virtue in ſtriving to avoid affliction may be often overborne by Fortune*, &c. But we think the contraſt ſufficiently preſerved without altering the printed text. The learned Annotator will have φυλαττομαι here to ſignify *vito*; and that is certainly often the ſignification. But ſometimes it ſignifies *obſervo*, as appears from the following paſſage in Heſiod, ἡματα δ' εκ Διοδεν περυλαγμενος.

AGIS and CLEOMENES

COMPARED WITH

TIBERIUS and CAIUS GRACCHUS.

THUS we have given the hiſtory of theſe great men ſeverally, and it remains that we take a view of them in compariſon with each other. Thoſe who hated the Gracchi, and endeavoured the moſt to diſparage them, never durſt deny, that of all the Romans of their time nature had diſpoſed them moſt happily to virtue, or that this diſpoſition was cultivated by the moſt excellent education. But nature appears to have done ſtill more for Agis and Cleomenes; for though they not only wanted the advantages of education, but were trained to ſuch manners and cuſtoms as had corrupted many before them; yet they became examples of temperance and ſobriety.

Beſides, the Gracchi lived at a time when Rome was in her greateſt glory; a time that was diſtinguiſhed by a virtuous emulation; and of courſe they muſt have had a natural averſion to give up the inheritance of virtue which they had received from their anceſtors. Whereas Agis and Cleomenes had parents of very different principles, and found their country in a very diſeaſed and unhappy ſtate; and yet theſe things did not in the leaſt abate their ardour in the purſuits of honour.

We have a ſtrong proof of the diſintereſted views of the Gracchi, and their averſion to avarice, in their

their keeping themſelves clear of all iniquitous practices in the whole courſe of their adminiſtration. But Agis might even have reſented it, if any one had commended him for not touching the property of others, ſince he diſtributed his whole ſubſtance among the citizens of Sparta, which, beſide other conſiderable articles, conſiſted of ſix hundred talents in money. What a crime then muſt unjuſt gain have appeared to him, who thought it nothing leſs than avarice, to poſſeſs more than others, though by the faireſt title?

If we conſider them with reſpect to the hardineſs of their enterpriſes, and the new regulations they wanted to eſtabliſh, we ſhall find the two Grecians greatly ſuperior. One of the two Romans applied himſelf principally to making roads and colonizing towns. The boldeſt attempt of Tiberius was the diſtribution of the public lands; and Caius did nothing more extraordinary than the joining an equal number of the equeſtrian order in commiſſion with the three hundred patrician judges.

The alterations which Agis and Cleomenes brought into the ſyſtem of their commonwealth were of a different nature. They ſaw that a ſmall and partial amendment was no better, as Plato expreſſes it, than the cutting off one of the Hydra's heads *; and therefore they introduced a change that might remove all the diſtempers of the conſtitution at once. Perhaps, we may expreſs ourſelves with more propriety, if we ſay, that, by removing the changes that had cauſed all their misfortunes, they brought Sparta back to it's firſt principles.

Poſſibly it may not be amiſs to add, that the meaſures the Gracchi adopted, were offenſive to the greateſt men in Rome †; whereas, all that Agis

* In the fourth book of the commonwealth.

† Plutarch ſeems to cenſure the Agrarian law as an irrational one, and as the invention of the Gracchi. But, in fact, there was

meditated, and Cleomenes brought to bear, had the beſt and moſt reſpectable authorities to ſupport it, I mean the ſanction either of Lycurgus or Apollo.

What is ſtill more conſiderable, by the political meaſures of the Gracchi, Rome made not the leaſt acquiſition of power or territory; whereas, through thoſe of Cleomenes, Greece ſaw the Spartans in a little time become maſters of Peloponneſus, and contending for ſuperiority with the moſt powerful princes of that age: And this without any other view, than to deliver Greece from the incurſions of the Illyrians and Gauls, and put her once more under the protection of the race of Hercules.

The different manner of the deaths of theſe great men, appears alſo to me to point out a difference in their characters. The Gracchi fought with their fellow-citizens, and, being defeated, periſhed in their flight. Agis, on the other hand, fell almoſt a voluntary ſacrifice, rather than that any Spartan ſhould loſe his life on his account. Cleomenes, when inſulted and oppreſſed, had recourſe to vengeance; and, as circumſtances did not favour him, had courage enough to give himſelf the fatal blow.

If we view them in another light, Agis never diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a general; for he was killed before he had any opportunity of that kind: and with the many great and glorious victories of Cleomenes, we may compare the memorable exploit of Tiberius in being the firſt to ſcale the walls of Carthage, and his ſaving twenty thouſand Romans who had no other hope of life, by the peace which he happily concluded with the Numantians. As for Caius, there were many inſtances of his military talents both in the Numantian war, and in Sardinia. So that the two brothers would probably one day have been ranked with the greateſt generals among the

was an Agrarian law among the inſtitutions of Lycurgus; and the Gracchi were not the firſt promoters of ſuch a law among the Romans. Spurius Caſſius offered a bill of the ſame kind above two hundred years before, which proved equally fatal to him.

the Romans, had they not come to an untimely death.

As to their political abilities, Agis ſeems to have wanted firmneſs and diſpatch. He ſuffered himſelf to be impoſed upon by Ageſilaus, and performed not his promiſe to the citizens of making a diſtribution of lands. He was, indeed, extremely young; and, on that account, had a timidity which prevented the completion of thoſe ſchemes that had ſo much raiſed the expectation of the public. Cleomenes, on the contrary, took too bold and too violent a method to effectuate the changes he had reſolved on in the police of Sparta. It was an act of injuſtice to put the *ephori* to death, whom he might either have brought over to his party by force, becauſe he was ſuperior in arms, or elſe have baniſhed, as he did many others. For, to have recourſe to the knife, except in caſes of extreme neceſſity, indicates neither the good phyſician, nor the able ſtateſman, but unſkilfulneſs in both. Beſides, in politics, that ignorance is always attended with injuſtice and cruelty. But neither of the Gracchi began the civil war, or dipped his hands in the blood of his countrymen. Caius, we are told, even when attacked, did not repel force with force; and, though none behaved with greater courage and vigour than he in other wars, none was ſo ſlow to lift up his hand againſt a fellow-citizen. He went out unarmed to a ſcene of fury and ſedition; when the fight began, he retired; and, through the whole, appeared more ſolicitous to avoid the doing of harm, than the receiving it. The flight, therefore, of the Gracchi muſt not be conſidered as an act of cowardice, but patriotic diſcretion. For they were under a neceſſity either of taking the method they did, or of fighting in their own defence if they ſtayed.

The ſtrongeſt charge againſt Tiberius is, that he depoſed his colleague, and ſued for a ſecond tribuneſhip. Caius was blamed for the death of Antyllius; but

but againſt all reaſon and juſtice; for the fact was committed without his approbation, and he looked upon it as a moſt unhappy circumſtance. On the other hand, Cleomenes, not to mention any more his deſtroying the *ephori*, took an unconſtitutional ſtep in enfranchiſing all the ſlaves; and, in reality he reigned alone, though, to ſave appearances, he took in his brother Euclidas as a partner in the throne, who was not of the other family that claimed a right to give one of the kings to Sparta. Archidamus, who was of that family, and had as much right to the throne, he perſuaded to return from Meſſene. In conſequence of this he was aſſaſſinated; and, as Cleomenes made no enquiry into the murder, it is probable that he was juſtly cenſured as the cauſe of it. Whereas, Lycurgus, whom he pretended to take as his pattern, freely ſurrendered to his nephew Charilaus, the kingdom committed to his charge; and that he might not be blamed in caſe of his untimely death, he went abroad and wandered a long time in foreign countries; nor did he return till Charilaus had a ſon to ſucceed him in the throne. It is true, Greece has not produced any other man who can be compared to Lycurgus.

We have ſhewn that Cleomenes, in the courſe of his government, brought in greater innovations, and committed more violent acts of injuſtice. And thoſe that are inclined to cenſure the perſons of whom we are writing, repreſent Cleomenes as, from the firſt, of a tyrannical diſpoſition, and a lover of war. The Gracchi they accuſe of immoderate ambition, malignity itſelf not being able to find any other flaw in them. At the ſame time they acknowledge, that thoſe tribunes might poſſibly be carried beyond the dictates of their native diſpoſition by anger, and the heat of contention, which, like ſo many hurricanes, drove them at laſt upon ſome extremes in their adminiſtration. What could be more juſt or meritorious than their firſt deſign, to which they would

have adhered, had not the rich and great, by the violent methods they took to abrogate their law, involved them both in thoſe fatal quarrels; the one to defend himſelf, and the other to revenge his brother, who was taken off without any form of law or juſtice?

From theſe obſervations, you may eaſily perceive the difference between them; and, if you required me to characterize each of them ſingly, I ſhould ſay that the palm of virtue belongs to Tiberius; young Agis had the feweſt faults; and Caius, in point of courage and ſpirit of enterpriſe, was little inferior to Cleomenes.

DEMOSTHENES.

DEMOSTHENES.

WHOEVER it was, my Sosius, that wrote the encomium upon Alcibiades for his victory in the chariot-race at the Olympic games; whether Euripides, (which is the common opinion) or some other, he asserts, that "the first requisite to "happiness, is, that a man be born in a famous "city." But, as to real happiness, which consists principally in the disposition and habit of the mind, for my part, I think it would make no difference, though a man should be born in an inconsiderable town, or of a mother who had no advantages either of size or beauty: for it is ridiculous to suppose that Julis, a small town in the Isle of Ceos, which is itself not great, and Ægina, which an Athenian "wanted "to have taken away, as an eye-sore to the Piraeus," should give birth to good poets and players *, and not be able to produce a man who might attain the virtues of justice, of contentment, and magnanimity. Indeed, those arts, which are to gain the master of them considerable profit or honour, may probably not flourish in mean and insignificant towns. But virtue, like a strong and hardy plant, will take root in any place, where it can find an ingenuous nature, and a mind that has no aversion to labour and discipline. Therefore, if our sentiments or conduct fall short of the point they ought to reach, we must not impute it to the obscurity of the place where we were born, but to our little selves.

These

* The poet Simonides was of Ceos; and Polus the actor was of Ægina.

Theſe reflections, however, extend not to an author, who would write a hiſtory of events which happened in a foreign country, and cannot be come at in his own. As he has his materials to collect from a variety of books diſperſed in different libraries, his firſt care ſhould be to take up his reſidence in ſome populous town which has an ambition for literature. There he will meet with many curious and valuable books; and the particulars that are wanting in writers, he may, upon enquiry, be ſupplied with by thoſe who have laid them up in the faithful repoſitory of memory. This will prevent his work from being defective in any material point. As to myſelf, I live in a little town, and I chuſe to live there, leſt it ſhould become ſtill leſs. When I was in Rome, and other parts of Italy, I had not leiſure to ſtudy the Latin tongue, on account of the public commiſſions with which I was charged, and the number of people that came to be inſtructed by me in philoſophy. It was not, therefore, till a late period in life, that I began to read the Roman authors. The proceſs may ſeem ſtrange; and yet it is very true. I did not ſo much gain the knowledge of things by the words, as words by the knowledge I had of things. I ſhall only add, that, to attain ſuch a ſkill in the language, as to be maſter of the beauty and fluency of its expreſſions, with it's figures, it's harmony, and all the other graces of it's ſtructure, would indeed be an elegant and agreeable accompliſhment. But the practice and pains it requires, are more than I have time for, and I muſt leave the ambition to excel in that walk to younger men.

In this book, which is the fifth of our parallels, we intend to give the lives of Demoſthenes and Cicero; and from their actions and political conduct, we ſhall collect and compare their manners and diſpoſition; but, for the reaſon already aſſigned, we ſhall not pretend to examine their orations, or to deter-

mine which of them was the more agreeable ſpeaker. For, as Ion ſays,

What's the gay dolphin when he quits the waves,
And bounds upon the ſhore?

Caecilius *, a writer at all times much too preſumptuous, paid little regard to that maxim of the poet's, when he ſo boldly attempted a compariſon between Demoſthenes and Cicero. But perhaps the precept, *Know thyſelf*, would not be conſidered as divine, if every man could eaſily reduce it to practice.

It ſeems to me that Demoſthenes and Cicero were originally formed by nature in the ſame mould, ſo great is the reſemblance in their diſpoſition. The ſame ambition, the ſame love of liberty, appears in their whole adminiſtration; and the ſame timidity amidſt wars and dangers. Nor did they leſs reſemble each other in their fortunes. For I think it is impoſſible to find two other orators, who raiſed themſelves from obſcure beginnings to ſuch authority and power; who both oppoſed kings and tyrants; who both loſt their daughters; were baniſhed their country, and returned with honour; were forced to fly again; were taken by their enemies, and at laſt expired the ſame hour with the liberties of their country. So that, if nature and fortune, like two artificers, were to deſcend upon the ſcene, and diſpute about their work, it would be difficult to decide whether the former had produced a greater reſemblance in their diſpoſitions, or the latter in the circumſtances of their lives. We ſhall begin with the more ancient.

Demoſthenes, the father of Demoſthenes, was one of the principal citizens of Athens. Theopompus tells us, he was called the *ſword-cutler*, becauſe he

* Caecilius was a celebrated rhetorician, who lived in the time of Auguſtus. He wrote a treatiſe on the ſublime, which is mentioned by Longinus.

he employed a great number of ſlaves in that buſineſs. As to what Æſchines the orator relates concerning his mother *, that ſhe was the daughter of one Gylon †, who was forced to fly for treaſon againſt the commonwealth, and of a barbarian woman, we cannot take upon us to ſay whether it was dictated by truth, or by falſehood and malignity. He had a large fortune left him by his father, who died when he was only ſeven years of age; the whole being eſtimated at little leſs than fifteen talents. But he was greatly wronged by his guardians, who converted part to their own uſe, and ſuffered part to lie neglected. Nay, they were vile enough to defraud his tutors of their ſalaries. This was the chief reaſon that he had not thoſe advantages of education to which his quality entitled him. His mother did not chuſe that he ſhould be put to hard and laborious exerciſes, on account of the weakneſs and delicacy of his frame; and his preceptors, being ill paid, did not preſs him to attend them. Indeed, from the firſt he was of a ſlender and ſickly habit, inſomuch that the boys are ſaid to have given him the contemptuous name of *Batalus* ‡ for his natural defects. Some ſay, Batalus was an effeminate muſician, whom Antiphanes ridiculed in one of his farces; others, that he was a poet, whoſe verſes were of the moſt wanton and licentious kind. The Athenians, too, at that time, ſeem to have called a part of the body *Batalus*, which decency forbids us to name. We are told, that

* In his oration againſt Cteſiphon.

† Gylon was accuſed of betraying to the enemy a town in Pontus called Nymphaeum; upon which he fled into Scythia, where he married a native of the country, and had two daughters by her; one of whom was married to Philochares, and the other, named Cleobule, to Demoſthenes. Her fortune was fifty *minae*; and of this marriage came Demoſthenes the orator.

‡ Heſychius gives a different explanation of the word *Batalus*; but Plutarch muſt be allowed, though Dacier will not here allow him, to underſtand the ſenſe of the Greek word as well as Heſychius.

that Demoſthenes had likewiſe the name of *Argas*, either on account of the ſavage and moroſe turn of his behaviour; for there is a ſort of ſerpent which ſome of the poets call *Argas* *; or elſe for the ſeverity of his expreſſions, which often gave his hearers pain; for there was a poet named *Argas*, whoſe verſes were very keen and ſatirical. But enough of this article.

His ambition to ſpeak in public is ſaid to have taken its riſe on this occaſion. The orator Calliſtratus was to plead in the cauſe which the city of Oropus † had depending; and the expectation of the public was greatly raiſed both by the powers of the orator, which were then in the higheſt repute, and by the importance of the trial. Demoſthenes hearing the governors and tutors agree among themſelves to attend the trial, with much importunity prevailed on his maſter to take him to hear the pleadings. The maſter having ſome acquaintance with the officers who opened the court, got his young pupil a ſeat where he could hear the orators without being ſeen. Calliſtratus had great ſucceſs, and his abilities were extremely admired. Demoſthenes was fired with a ſpirit of emulation. When he ſaw with what diſtinction the orator was conducted home, and complimented by the people, he was ſtruck ſtill more with the power of that commanding eloquence, which could carry all before it. From this time, therefore, he bade adieu to the other ſtudies and exerciſes in which boys are engaged, and applied himſelf with great aſſiduity to declaming, in hopes of

* Hippocrates too mentions a ſerpent of that name.

† Oropus was a town on the banks of the Euripus on the frontiers of Attica. The Thebans, though they had been relieved in their diſtreſs by Chabrias and the Athenians, forgot their former ſervices, and took Oropus from them. Chabrias was ſuſpected of treachery, and Calliſtratus, the orator, was retained to plead againſt him. Demoſthenes mentions this in his oration againſt Phidias. At the time of this trial, he was about ſixteen.

of being one day numbered among the orators. Iſaeus was the man he made uſe of as his preceptor in eloquence, though Iſocrates then taught it; whether it was that the loſs of his father incapacitated him to pay the ſum of ten *minae* *, which was that rhetorician's uſual price, or whether he preferred the keen and ſubtle manner of Iſaeus, as more fit for public uſe.

Hermippus ſays he met with an account in certain anonymous memoirs, that Demoſthenes likewiſe ſtudied under Plato †, and received great aſſiſtance from him in preparing to ſpeak in public. He adds, that Cteſibius uſed to ſay, that Demoſthenes was privately ſupplied, by Callias the Syracuſan, and ſome others, with the ſyſtems of rhetoric taught by Iſocrates and Alcidamas, and made his advantage of them.

When his minority was expired, he called his guardians to account at law, and wrote orations againſt them. As they found many methods of chicane and delay, he had great opportunity, as Thucydides ſays, to exerciſe his talent for the bar ‡. It

* This could not be the reaſon, if what is recorded in the life of Iſaeus be true, that he was retained as tutor to Demoſthenes at the price of a hundred *minae*.

† This is confirmed by Cicero in his Bruths. *Lectitaviſſe Platonem ſtudioſe, audiviſſe etiam Demoſthenes dicitur: Idque appâret ex genere et granditate verborum.* Again in his book *de Oratore. Quod idem de Demoſthene exiſtimari poteſt, cujus ex epiſtolis intelligi licet quam frequens fuerit Platonis auditor.* It is poſſible that Cicero in this place alludes to that letter of Demoſthenes addreſſed to Heracliodorus, in which he thus ſpeaks of Plato's philoſophy. "Since you have eſpouſed the doctrine of Plato, which is ſo diſ-"tant from avarice, from artifice and violence;—a doctrine whoſe "object is the perfection of goodneſs and juſtice! Immortal gods! "when once a man has adopted this doctrine, is it poſſible he "ſhould deviate from truth, or entertain one ſelfiſh or ungene-"rous ſentiment?"

‡ He loſt his father at the age of ſeven; and he was ten years in the hands of guardians. He, therefore, began to plead in his eighteenth year, which, as it was only in his own private affairs, was not forbidden by the laws.

was not without much pains and ſome riſque that he gained his cauſe; and, at laſt, it was but a very ſmall part of his patrimony that he could recover. By this means, however, he acquired a proper aſſurance, and ſome experience; and, having taſted the honour and power that go in the train of eloquence, he attempted to ſpeak in the public debates, and take a ſhare in the adminiſtration. As it is ſaid of Laomedon the Orchomenian, that, by the advice of his phyſicians, in ſome diſorder of the ſpleen, he applied himſelf to running, and continued it conſtantly a great length of way, till he had gained ſuch excellent health and breath, that he tried for the crown at the public games, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the long courſe: So it happened to Demoſthenes, that he firſt appeared at the bar for the recovery of his own fortune, which had been ſo much embezzled; and having acquired in that cauſe a perſuaſive and powerful manner of ſpeaking, he conteſted the crown, as I may call it, with the other orators before the general aſſembly.

However, in his firſt addreſs to the people, he was laughed at, and interrupted by their clamours; for the violence of his manner threw him into a confuſion of periods, and a diſtortion of his argument. Beſides, he had a weakneſs and ſtammering in his voice, and a want of breath, which cauſed ſuch a diſtraction in his diſcourſe, that it was difficult for the audience to underſtand him. At laſt, upon his quitting the aſſembly, Eunomus the Thriaſian, a man now extremely old, found him wandering in a dejected condition in the Piraeus, and took upon him to ſet him right. "You," ſaid he, "have a manner of "ſpeaking very like that of Pericles; and yet you loſe yourſelf out of mere timidity and cowardice. "You neither bear up againſt the tumults of a po- "pular aſſembly, nor prepare your body by exerciſe "for the labour of the *roſtrum*, but ſuffer your parts "to wither away in negligence and indolence."

Another time, we are told, when his ſpeeches had been ill received, and he was going home with his head covered, and in the greateſt diſtreſs, Satyrus the player, who was an acquaintance of his, followed, and went in with him. Demoſthenes lamented to him, "that, though he was the moſt laborious "of all the orators, and had almoſt ſacrificed his "health to that application, yet he could gain no "favour with the people; but drunken ſeamen, and "other unlettered perſons were heard, and kept the "*roſtrum*, while he was entirely diſregarded *." "You ſay true," anſwered Satyrus; "but I will "ſoon provide a remedy, if you will repeat to me "ſome ſpeech in Euripides or Sophocles." When Demoſthenes had done, Satyrus pronounced the ſame ſpeech; and he did it with ſuch propriety of action, and ſo much in character, that it appeared to the orator quite a different paſſage. He now underſtood ſo well how much grace and dignity action adds to the beſt oration, that he thought it a ſmall matter to premeditate and compoſe, though with the utmoſt care, if the pronunciation and propriety of geſture were not attended to. Upon this, he built himſelf a ſubterraneous ſtudy, which remained to our times. Thither he repaired every day, to form his action, and exerciſe his voice; and he would often ſtay there for two or three months together; ſhaving one ſide of his head, that, if he ſhould happen to be ever ſo deſirous of going abroad, the ſhame of appearing in that condition might keep him in.

When he did go out upon a viſit, or received one, he would take ſomething that paſſed in converſation, ſome buſineſs or fact that was reported to him, for a ſubject to exerciſe himſelf upon. As ſoon as he had parted from his friends, he went to his ſtudy, where he repeated the matter in order as it paſſed, together with

* This was the privilege of all Democratic ſtates. Some think, that, by ſeamen, he means Demades, whoſe profeſſion was that of a mariner.

the arguments for and againſt it. The ſubſtance of the ſpeeches which he heard, he committed to memory, and afterwards reduced them to regular ſentences and periods *, meditating a variety of corrections and new forms of expreſſion, both for what others had ſaid to him, and he had addreſſed to them. Hence it was concluded that he was not a man of much genius; and that all his eloquence was the effect of labour. A ſtrong proof of this ſeemed to be, that he was ſeldom heard to ſpeak any thing *ex tempore*; and though the people often called upon him by name, as he ſate in the aſſembly, to ſpeak to the point debated, he would not do it unleſs he came prepared. For this, many of the orators ridiculed him; and Pytheas, in particular, told him, "That all his arguments ſmelt of the lamp." Demoſthenes retorted ſharply upon him, "Yes, indeed; but your lamp and mine, my friend, are "not conſcious to the ſame labours." To others he did not pretend to deny his previous application, but told them, "He neither wrote the whole of his "orations, nor ſpoke without firſt committing part "to writing." He farther affirmed, "that this "ſhewed him a good member of a Democratic ſtate; "for the coming prepared to the *roſtrum*, was a mark "of reſpect for the people. Whereas, to be regardleſs of what the people might think of a man's "addreſs, ſhewed his inclination for oligarchy; and "that he had rather gain his point by force than by "perſuaſion." Another proof they give us of his want of confidence on any ſudden occaſion, is, that when he happened to be put in diſorder by the tumultuary behaviour of the people, Demades often roſe up to ſupport him in an *ex tempore* addreſs; but he never did the ſame for Demades.

Wherefore,

* Cicero did the ſame, as we find in his epiſtles to Atticus. Theſe arguments he calls *Theſes politicæ*.

Wherefore, then, it may be ſaid, did Æſchines call him an orator of the moſt admirable aſſurance? How could he ſtand up alone and refute Python the Byzantian *, whoſe eloquence poured againſt the Athenians like a torrent? And when Lamachus the Myrrhenean † pronounced at the Olympic games an encomium which he had written upon Philip and Alexander; and in which he had aſſerted many ſevere and reproachful things againſt the Thebans and Olynthians, how could Demoſthenes riſe up and prove, by a ready deduction of facts, the many benefits for which Greece was indebted to the Thebans and Chalcidians, and the many evils that the flatterers of the Macedonians had brought upon their country? This, too, wrought ſuch a change in the minds of the great audience, that the Sophiſt, his antagoniſt, apprehending a tumult, ſtole out of the aſſembly.

Upon the whole, it appears that Demoſthenes did not take Pericles entirely for his model. He only adopted his action and delivery, and his prudent reſolution not to make a practice of ſpeaking from a ſudden impulſe, or on any occaſion that might preſent itſelf; being perſuaded that it was to that

* This was one of the moſt glorious circumſtances in the life of Demoſthenes. The fate of his country, in a great meaſure, depended on his eloquence. After Elatea was loſt, and Philip threatened to march againſt Athens, the Athenians applied for ſuccours to the Boeotians. When the league was eſtabliſhed, and the troops aſſembled at Chaeronea, Philip ſent ambaſſadors to the council of Boeotia, the chief of whom was Python, one of the ableſt orators of his time. When he had inveighed with all the powers of eloquence againſt the Athenians and their cauſe, Demoſthenes anſwered him, and carried the point in their favour. He was ſo elevated with this victory, that he mentions it in one of his orations in almoſt the ſame terms that Plutarch has uſed here.

† If we ſuppoſe this Lamachus to have been of Attica, the text ſhould be altered from *Myrrhenean* to *Myrrhinuſian*; for *Myrrhinus* was a borough of Attica. But there was a town called Myrhine in Æolia, and another in Lemnos, and probably Lamachus was of one of theſe.

conduct he owed his greatneſs. Yet, while he choſe not often to truſt the ſucceſs of his powers to fortune, he did not abſolutely neglect the reputation which may be acquired by ſpeaking on a ſudden occaſion. And, if we believe Eratoſthenes, Demetrius the Phalerean, and the comic poets, there was a greater ſpirit and boldneſs in his unpremeditated orations, than in thoſe he had committed to writing. Eratoſthenes ſays, that, in his extemporaneous harangues, he often ſpoke as from a ſupernatural impulſe; and Demetrius tells us, that, in an addreſs to the people, like a man inſpired, he once uttered this oath in verſe,

By earth, by all her fountains, ſtreams, and floods.

One of the comic writers calls him *Rhopoperperethras* *; and another, ridiculing his frequent uſe of the Antitheſis, ſays, "As he took, ſo he retook." For Demoſthenes affected to uſe that expreſſion. Poſſibly, Antiphanes played upon that paſſage in the oration concerning the Iſle of Haloneſus, in which Demoſthenes adviſed the Athenians "not to take, "but to retake it from Philip †."

It was agreed, however, on all hands, that Demades excelled all the orators, when he truſted to nature only; and that his ſudden effuſions were ſuperior to the laboured ſpeeches of Demoſthenes. Ariſto of Chios gives us the following account of the opinion of Theophraſtus concerning theſe orators. Being aſked in what light he looked upon Demoſthenes as an orator, he ſaid, "I think him worthy of Athens;" what of Demades, "I think him above it." The ſame philoſopher relates of Polyeuctus the Sphettian, who was one of the principal perſons in the Athenian adminiſtration at that time, that he called "De-

* *A haberdaſher of ſmall wares*, or ſomething like it.

† There is an expreſſion ſomething like what Plutarch has quoted, about the beginning of that oration. Libanius ſuſpects the whole of that oration to be ſpurious; but this raillery of the poet on Demoſthenes, ſeems to prove that it was of his hand.

"Demoſthenes the greateſt orator, and Phocion "the moſt powerful ſpeaker;" becauſe the latter comprized a great deal of ſenſe in a few words. To the ſame purpoſe, we are told, that Demoſthenes himſelf, whenever Phocion got up to oppoſe him, uſed to ſay to his friends, "Here comes the prun-"ing-hook of my periods." It is uncertain, indeed, whether Demoſthenes referred to Phocion's manner of ſpeaking, or to his life and character. The latter might be the caſe, becauſe he knew that a word or a nod from a man of ſuperior character, is more regarded than the long diſcourſes of another.

As for his perſonal defects, Demetrius the Phalerean, gives us an account of the remedies he applied to them; and he ſays he had it from Demoſthenes in his old age. The heſitation and ſtammering of his tongue, he corrected by practiſing to ſpeak with pebbles in his mouth; and he ſtrengthened his voice by running or walking up-hill, and pronouncing ſome paſſage in an oration or a poem, during the difficulty of breath which that cauſed. He had, moreover, a looking-glaſs in his houſe, before which he uſed to declaim, and adjuſt all his motions.

It is ſaid, that a man came to him, one day, and deſired him to be his advocate againſt a perſon from whom he had ſuffered by aſſault. "Not you, indeed;" ſaid Demoſthenes, "you have ſuffered no ſuch "thing." "What!" ſaid the man, raiſing his voice, "have I not received thoſe blows?" "Ay, "now," replied Demoſthenes, "you do ſpeak like "a perſon that has been injured." So much, in his opinion, do the tone of voice and the action contribute to gain the ſpeaker credit in what he affirms.

His action pleaſed the commonalty much; but people of taſte, (among whom was Demetrius the Phalerean) thought there was ſomething in it low, inelegant, and unmanly. Hermippus acquaints us, that Æſion being aſked his opinion of the ancient

orators, and thoſe of that time, ſaid, "Whoever has "heard the orators of former times, muſt admire the "decorum and dignity with which they ſpoke. Yet, "when we read the orations of Demoſthenes, we "muſt allow they have more art in the compoſition, "and greater force." It is needleſs to mention, that, in his written orations, there was ſomething extremely cutting and ſevere; but, in his ſudden repartees, there was alſo ſomething of humour *. When Demades ſaid, "Demoſthenes to me! a ſow to Mi-"nerva;" our orator made anſwer, "This Minerva "was found the other day playing the whore in "Colyttus." When a raſcal, ſurnamed *Chalcbus* †, attempted to jeſt upon his late ſtudies and long watchings, he ſaid, "I know my lamp offends thee. "But you need not wonder, my countrymen, that "we have ſo many robberies, when we have thieves "of braſs, and walls only of clay." Though more of his ſayings might be produced, we ſhall paſs them over, and go on to ſeek the reſt of his manners and character in his actions and political conduct.

He tells us himſelf, that he entered upon public buſineſs in the time of the Phocian war ‡; and the ſame may be collected from his Phillippics. For ſome of the laſt of them were delivered after that war was finiſhed; and the former relate to the immediate tranſactions of it. It appears alſo, that he was two and thirty years old, when he was preparing his oration againſt Midias; and yet, at that time, he had attained no name or power in the adminiſtration. This, indeed, ſeems to be the reaſon of his dropping

* Longinus will not allow him the leaſt excellence in matters of humour or pleaſantry. Cap. xxviii.

† That is, *Braſs*.

‡ In the Olymp. cvi. 533 years before the Chriſtian æra. Demoſthenes was then in his twenty-ſeventh year.

dropping the proſecution for a ſum of money, For,

——— *no prayer, no moving art*
E'er bent that fierce, inexorable heart. POPE.

He was vindictive in his nature, and implacable in his reſentments. He ſaw it a difficult thing, and out of the reach of his intereſt, to pull down a man ſo well ſupported on all ſides, as Midias, by wealth and friends; and therefore he liſtened to the application in his behalf. Had he ſeen any hopes or poſſibility of cruſhing his enemy, I cannot think that three thouſand *drachmas* could have diſarmed his anger.

He had a glorious ſubject for his political ambition, to defend the cauſe of Greece againſt Philip. He defended it like a champion worthy of ſuch a charge, and ſoon gained great reputation both for eloquence and for the bold truths which he ſpoke. He was admired in Greece, and courted by the king of Perſia. Nay, Philip himſelf had a much higher opinion of him than of the other orators; and his enemies acknowledged that they had to contend with a great man. For Æſchines and Hyperides, in their very accuſations, give him ſuch a character.

I wonder, therefore, how Theopompus could ſay that he was a man of no ſteadineſs, who was never long pleaſed either with the ſame perſons or things. For, on the contrary, it appears that he abode by the party and the meaſures which he firſt adopted; and was ſo far from quitting them during his life, that he forfeited his life, rather than he would forſake them. Demades, to excuſe the inconſiſtency of his public character, uſed to ſay, "I may have "aſſerted things contrary to my former ſentiments, "but not any thing contrary to the true intereſts of "the commonwealth." Melanopus, who was of the oppoſite party to Calliſtratus, often ſuffered himſelf to be bought off, and then ſaid, by way of

apology, to the people, "It is true, the man is my "enemy, but the public good is an over-ruling "consideration." And Nicodemus the Messenian, who first appeared strong in the interest of Cassander, and afterwards in that of Demetrius, said, "He did "not contradict himself, for it was always the best "way to listen to the strongest." But we have nothing of that kind to alledge against Demosthenes. He was never a time-server either in his words or actions. The key of politics, which he first touched, he kept to without variation.

Panaetius, the philosopher, asserts, that most of his orations are written upon this principle, that virtue is to be chosen for her own sake only; that, for instance, *of the crown*, that *against* Aristocrates, that *for the immunities*, and the *Philippics*. In all these orations, he does not exhort his countrymen to that which is not agreeable, or easy, or advantageous; but points out honour and propriety as the first objects, and leaves the safety of the state as a matter of inferior consideration. So that, if, beside that noble ambition which animated his measures, and the generous turn of his addresses to the people, he had been blest with the courage that war demands, and had kept his hands clean of bribes, he would not have been numbered with such orators as Myrocles, Polyeuctus and Hyperides, but have deserved to be placed in a higher sphere with Cimon, Thucydides, and Pericles.

Among those who took the reins of government after him *, Phocion, though not of the party in most esteem, I mean that which seemed to favour the Ma-

* Των γυν μετ' αυτον, seems as if it would do, with the little paraphrase we have given it; for Phocion did certainly hold the reins of government when Demosthenes was no more. At the same time we must observe, that some insist that the emendation of Wolfius, των γυν κατ' αυτον, should take place, because Phocion was co-temporary to Demosthenes; and because Plutarch says afterwards, τυς γε καθ' αυτον ρητορας, εξω δε λογυ, τιθεμαι φωκιωνα, και τω βιω παρηλθε.

Macedonians; yet, on account of his probity and valour, did not appear at all inferior to Ephialtes, Ariſtides, and Cimon. But Demoſthenes had neither the courage that could be truſted in the field, nor was he (as Demetrius expreſſes it) ſufficiently fortified againſt the impreſſions of money. Though he bore up againſt the aſſaults of corruption from Philip and the Macedonians, yet he was taken by the gold of Suſa and Ecbatana. So that he was much better qualified to recommend, than to imitate, the virtues of our anceſtors. It muſt be acknowledged, however, that he excelled all the orators of his time, except Phocion, in his life and converſation. And we find in his orations, that he told the people the boldeſt truths, that he oppoſed their inclinations, and corrected their errors with the greateſt ſpirit and freedom. Theopompus alſo acquaints us, that, when the Athenians were for having him manager of a certain impeachment, and inſiſted upon it in a tumultuary manner, he would not comply, but roſe up and ſaid, "My friends, I will be your coun-"ſellor, whether you will or no; but a falſe accuſer "I will not be, how much ſoever you may wiſh it." His behaviour in the caſe of Antipho, was of the Ariſtocratic caſt *. The people had acquitted him in the general aſſembly; and yet he carried him before the *areopagus*; where, without regarding the offence it might give the people, he proved that he had promiſed Philip to burn the arſenal; upon which, he was condemned by the council, and put to death. He likewiſe accuſed the prieſteſs Theoris of ſeveral miſdemeanours; and, among the reſt, of her teaching the ſlaves many arts of impoſition. Such crimes, he inſiſted, were capital; and ſhe was delivered over to the executioner.

Demoſthenes is ſaid to have written the oration for Apollodorus, by which he carried his cauſe againſt the general Timotheus, in an action of debt to the public

* See his oration *de Corona*.

public treaſury; as alſo thoſe others againſt Phormio and Stephanus *; which was a juſt exception againſt his character. For he compoſed the oration which Phormio had pronounced againſt Apollodorus. This, therefore, was like furniſhing two enemies with weapons out of the ſame ſhop to fight one another. He wrote ſome public orations for others, before he had any concern in the adminiſtration himſelf, namely, thoſe againſt Androtion, Timocrates and Ariſtocrates. For it appears that he was only twenty-ſeven or twenty-eight years of age when he publiſhed thoſe orations. That againſt Ariſtogiton, and that for the *immunities*, he delivered himſelf, at the requeſt, as he ſays, of Cteſippus the ſon of Chabrias; though others tell us, it was becauſe he paid his addreſſes to the young man's mother. He did not, however, marry her; for his wife was a woman of Samos, as Demetrius the Magneſian informs us, in his account of perſons of the ſame name. It is uncertain, whether that againſt Æſchines, *for betraying his truſt as ambaſſador* †, was ever ſpoken; though Idomeneus affirms that Æſchines was acquitted only by thirty votes. This ſeems not to be true, at leaſt ſo far as may be conjectured from both their orations *concerning the crown*. For neither of them expreſsly mentions it as a cauſe that ever came to trial. But this is a point which we ſhall leave for others to decide.

Demoſthenes, through the whole courſe of his political conduct, left none of the actions of the king of Macedon undiſparaged. Even in time of peace, he laid hold on every opportunity to raiſe ſuſpicions againſt

* Dacier gives a quite contrary ſenſe. Inſtead of, *againſt Phormio*, he ſays, *for Phormio, pour Phormion*; though the Greek is τῆς πρὸς Φορμίωνα. Probably he had a copy with a different reading, but he does not mention it.

† In this oration, Demoſthenes accuſed Æſchines of many capital crimes committed in the embaſſy on which he was ſent to oblige Philip to ſwear to the articles of peace. Both that oration, and the anſwer of Æſchines, are ſtill extant.

againſt him among the Athenians, and to excite their reſentment. Hence, Philip looked upon him as a perſon of the greateſt importance in Athens; and when he went with nine other deputies to the court of that prince, after having given them all audience, he anſwered the ſpeech of Demoſthenes with greater care than the reſt. As to other marks of honour and reſpect, Demoſthenes had not an equal ſhare in them; they were beſtowed principally upon Æſchines and Philocrates. They, therefore, were large in the praiſe of Philip on all occaſions; and they inſiſted, in particular, on his eloquence, his beauty, and even his being able to drink a great quantity of liquor. Demoſthenes, who could not bear to hear him praiſed, turned theſe things off as trifles. "The firſt," he ſaid, "was the property "of a ſophiſt, the ſecond of a woman, and the third "of a ſponge; and not one of them could do any "credit to a king."

Afterwards it appeared, that nothing was to be expected but war; for, on one hand, Philip knew not how to ſit down in tranquility; and, on the other, Demoſthenes inflamed the Athenians. In this caſe, the firſt ſtep the orator took, was, to put the people upon ſending an armament to Euboea, which was brought under the yoke of Philip by its petty tyrants. Accordingly he drew up an edict, in purſuance of which they paſſed over to that Peninſula, and drove out the Macedonians. His ſecond operation was the ſending ſuccours to the Byzantians and Perinthians, with whom Philip was at war. He perſuaded the people to drop their reſentment, to forget the faults which both thoſe nations had committed in the confederate war, and to ſend a body of troops to their aſſiſtance. They did ſo, and it ſaved them from ruin. After this, he went ambaſſador to the ſtates of Greece; and, by his animating addreſs, brought them almoſt all to join in the league againſt Philip. Beſide the troops

of

of the ſeveral cities, they took an army of mercenaries, to the number of fifteen thouſand foot, and two thouſand horſe, into pay, and readily contributed to the charge. Theophraſtus tells us, that, when the allies deſired their contributions might be ſettled, Crobylus the orator anſwered, "That war could "not be brought to any ſet diet."

The eyes of all Greece were now upon theſe movements; and all were ſolicitous for the event. The cities of Euboea, the Achaeans, the Corinthians, the Megarenſians, the Leucadians, the Corcyraeans, had each ſeverally engaged for themſelves againſt the Macedonians. Yet the greateſt work remained for Demoſthenes to do; which was to bring the Thebans over to the league. Their country bordered upon Attica; they had a great army on foot, and were then reckoned the beſt ſoldiers in Greece. But they had recent obligations to Philip in the Phocian war, and therefore it was not eaſy to draw them from him; eſpecially when they conſidered the frequent quarrels and acts of hoſtility in which their vicinity to Athens engaged them.

Meantime Philip, elated with his ſucceſs at Amphiſſa, ſurpriſed Elatea, and poſſeſſed himſelf of Phocis. The Athenians were ſtruck with aſtoniſhment, and not one of them durſt mount the *roſtrum*: No one knew what advice to give; but a melancholy ſilence reigned in the city. In this diſtreſs Demoſthenes alone ſtood forth, and propoſed, that application ſhould be made to the Thebans. He likewiſe animated the people in his uſual manner, and inſpired them with freſh hopes; in conſequence of which, he was ſent ambaſſador to Thebes, ſome others being joined in commiſſion with him. Philip, too, on his part, as Maryas informs us, ſent Amyntas and Clearchus, two Macedonians, Daochus the Theſſalian, and Thraſydaeus the Elean *; to

* As the country of Amyntas and Clearchus is mentioned, ſo in all probability was that of the other ambaſſadors who were to

to anſwer the Athenian deputies. The Thebans were not ignorant what way their true intereſt pointed; but each of them had the evils of war before his eyes; for their Phocian wounds were ſtill freſh upon them. However, the powers of the orator, as Theopompus tells us, rekindled their courage and ambition ſo effectually, that all other objects were diſregarded. They loſt ſight of fear, of caution, of every prior attachment, and, through the force of his eloquence, fell with enthuſiaſtic tranſports into the path of honour.

So powerful, indeed, were the efforts of the orator, that Philip immediately ſent ambaſſadors to Athens to apply for peace; Greece recovered her ſpirits, whilſt ſhe ſtood waiting for the event; and not only the Athenian generals, but the governors of Boeotia, were ready to execute the commands of Demoſthenes. All the aſſemblies, as well thoſe of Thebes, as thoſe of Athens, were under his direction: he was equally beloved, equally powerful in both places; and, as Theopompus ſhews, it was no more than his merit claimed. But the ſuperior power of fortune, which ſeems to have been working a revolution, and drawing the liberties of Greece to a period at that time, oppoſed and baffled all the meaſures that could be taken. The deity diſcovered many tokens of the approaching event. Among the reſt, the prieſteſs of Apollo delivered dreadful oracles; and an old prophecy from the Sibylline books was then much repeated.—

Far from Thermodon's banks, when, ſtain'd with blood,
Boeotia trembles o'er the crimſon flood,
On eagle-pinions let me pierce the ſky,
And ſee the vanquiſh'd weep, the victor die!

This

to act with them. The text, as it now ſtands, is Αμυντας μεν και Κλεαρχον Μακεδονας, Δαοχον δε και Θεσσαλον και Θρασυδαιον. The και before Θεσσαλον, ſhould probably be taken away. As to Thraſydaeus, we find in Plutarch's morals, that he was an Elean.

This Thermodon, they ſay, is a ſmall river in our country near Chaeronea, which falls into the Cephiſus. At preſent we know no river of that name; but we conjecture that the Haemon, which runs by the temple of Hercules, where the Greeks encamped, might then be called Thermodon; and the battle having filled it with blood and the bodies of the ſlain, it might, on that account, change it's appellation. Duris, indeed, ſays, that Thermodon was not a river, but that ſome of the ſoldiers, as they were pitching their tents, and opening the trenches, found a ſmall ſtatue, with an inſcription, which ſignified, that the perſon repreſented was Thermodon holding a wounded Amazon in his arms. He adds, that there was another oracle on the ſubject, much taken notice of at that time.—

——— Fell bird of prey,
Wait thou the plenteous harveſt which the ſword
Will give thee on Thermodon.

But it is hard to ſay what truth there is in theſe accounts.

As to Demoſthenes, he is ſaid to have had ſuch confidence in the Grecian arms, and to have been ſo much elated with the courage and ſpirit of ſo many brave men calling for the enemy, that he would not ſuffer them to regard any oracles or prophecies. He told them, that he ſuſpected the prophetes herſelf of *philippizing*. He put the Thebans in mind of Epaminondas, and the Athenians of Pericles, how they reckoned ſuch things as mere pretexts of cowardice, and purſued the plan which their reaſon had dictated. Thus far Demoſthenes acquitted himſelf like a man of ſpirit and honour. But in the battle, he performed nothing worthy of the glorious things he had ſpoken. He quitted his poſt; he threw away his arms; he fled in the moſt infamous manner; and was not aſhamed, as Pytheas ſays, to bely the inſcription

tion which he had put upon his ſhield in golden characters, To GOOD FORTUNE.

Immediately after the victory, Philip, in the elation of his heart, committed a thouſand exceſſes. He drank to intoxication, and danced over the dead, making a kind of ſong of the firſt part of the decree which Demoſthenes had procured, and beating time to it.——*Demoſthenes the Paeanean, ſon of Demoſthenes, has decreed.* But when he came to be ſober again, and conſidered the dangers with which he had lately been ſurrounded, he trembled to think of the prodigious force and power of that orator, who had obliged him to put both empire and life on the caſt of a day, on a few hours of that day *.

The fame of Demoſthenes reached the Perſian court; and the king wrote letters to his lieutenants, commanding them to ſupply him with money, and to attend to him more than any other man in Greece; becauſe he knew beſt how to make a diverſion in his favour, by raiſing freſh troubles, and finding employment for the Macedonian arms nearer home. This, Alexander afterwards diſcovered by the letters of Demoſthenes which he found at Sardis; and the papers of the Perſian governors expreſſing the ſums which had been given him.

When the Greeks had loſt this great battle, thoſe of the contrary faction attacked Demoſthenes, and brought a variety of public accuſations againſt him. The people, however, not only acquitted him, but treated him with the ſame reſpect as before, and called him to the helm again, as a perſon whom they knew to be a well-wiſher to his country. So that, when the bones of thoſe who fell at Chaeronea were brought home to be interred, they pitched upon

* Demades the orator contributed to bring him to the right uſe of his reaſon, when he told him with ſuch diſtinguiſhed magnanimity, "That fortune had placed him in the character "of Agamemnon, but that he choſe to play the part of "Therſites."

Demoſthenes to make the funeral oration. They were, therefore, ſo far from bearing their misfortune in a mean and ungenerous manner, as Theopompus, in a tragical ſtrain, repreſents it; that, by the great honour they did the counſellor, they ſhewed they did not repent of having followed his advice.

Demoſthenes accordingly made the oration. But, after this, he did not prefix his own name to his edicts, becauſe he conſidered fortune as inauſpicious to him; but ſometimes that of one friend, ſometimes that of another; till he recovered his ſpirits upon the death of Philip. For that prince did not long ſurvive his victory at Chaeronea; and his fate ſeemed to be preſignified in the laſt of the verſes above quoted:

And ſee the vanquiſh'd weep, the victor die!

Demoſthenes had ſecret intelligence of the death of Philip; and, in order to prepoſſeſs the people with hopes of ſome good ſucceſs to come, he entered the aſſembly with a gay countenance, pretending he had ſeen a viſion which announced ſomething great for Athens. Soon after, meſſengers came with an account of Philip's death. The Athenians immediately offered ſacrifices of acknowledgment to the gods for ſo happy an event, and voted a crown for Pauſanias, who killed him. Demoſthenes, on this occaſion, made his appearance in magnificent attire, and with a garland on his head, though it was only the ſeventh day after his daughter's death; as Æſchines tells us, who, on that account, reproaches him as an unnatural father. But he muſt himſelf have been of an ungenerous and effeminate diſpoſition, if he conſidered tears and lamentations as marks of a kind and affectionate parent, and condemned the man who bore ſuch a loſs with moderation.

At the ſame time, I do not pretend to ſay, the Athenians were right in crowning themſelves with

flowers, or in ſacrificing, upon the death of a prince, who had behaved to them with ſo much gentleneſs and humanity in their misfortunes. For it was a meanneſs, below contempt, to honour him in his life, and admit him a citizen; and yet, after he was fallen by the hands of another, not to keep their joy within any bounds, but to inſult the dead, and ſing triumphal ſongs, as if they had performed ſome extraordinary act of valour.

I commend Demoſthenes, indeed, for leaving the tears and other inſtances of mourning, which his domeſtic misfortunes might claim, to the women, and going about ſuch actions as he thought conducive to the welfare of his country. For I think, a man of ſuch firmneſs and other abilities as a ſtateſman ought to have, ſhould always have the common concern in view, and look upon his private accidents or buſineſs as conſiderations much inferior to the public. In conſequence of which, he will be much more careful to maintain his dignity, than actors who perſonate kings and tyrants; and yet theſe, we ſee, neither laugh nor weep according to the dictates of their own paſſions, but as they are directed by the ſubject of the drama. It is univerſally acknowledged that we are not to abandon the unhappy to their ſorrows, but to endeavour to conſole them by rational diſcourſe, or by turning their attention to more agreeable objects; in the ſame manner as we deſire thoſe who have weak eyes, to turn them from bright and dazzling colours, to green, or others of a ſofter kind. And what better conſolation can there be under domeſtic afflictions, than to attemper and alleviate them with the public ſucceſs *; ſo that, by ſuch a mixture, the bad may

* In the printed text, it is πατριδος ατυχησης, but the *Vulcob.* and another manuſcript give us ευτυχησης. Some queſtion whether κοινων παθων can mean public joy, though παθη does certainly ſometimes mean the affections or paſſions in general.

be corrected by the good. Theſe reflections we thought proper to make, becauſe we have obſerved that this diſcourſe of Æſchines has weakened the minds of many perſons, and put them upon indulging all the effeminacy of ſorrow.

Demoſthenes now ſollicited the ſtates of Greece again, and they entered once more into the league. The Thebans, being furniſhed with arms by Demoſthenes, attacked the garriſon in their citadel, and killed great numbers; and the Athenians prepared to join them in the war. Demoſthenes mounted the *roſtrum* almoſt every day; and he wrote to the king of Perſia's lieutenants in Aſia, to invite them to commence hoſtilities from that quarter againſt Alexander, whom he called a *boy*, a ſecond *Margites* *.

But when Alexander had ſettled the affairs of his own country, and marched into Boeotia with all his forces, the pride of the Athenians was humbled, and the ſpirit of Demoſthenes died away. They deſerted the Thebans; and that unhappy people had to ſtand the whole fury of the war by themſelves; in conſequence of which, they loſt their city. The Athenians were in great trouble and confuſion; and they could think of no better meaſure, than the ſending Demoſthenes, and ſome others, ambaſſadors to Alexander. But Demoſthenes, dreading the anger of that monarch, turned back at Mount Cithaeron, and relinquiſhed his commiſſion. Alexander immediately ſent deputies to Athens, who (according to Idomeneus and Duris) demanded that they would deliver up ten of their orators. But the greateſt part, and thoſe the moſt reputable of the hiſtorians, ſay, that he demanded only theſe eight, Demoſthenes, Polyeuctus,

general. It would, indeed, be good ſenſe to ſay, We ought to loſe our private ſorrows in the public; Doſt thou mourn for thyſelf, when thy country is periſhing? But that interpretation would not agree with what follows, *τοις βελτιοσιν αφαιριζεσαν τα χειρω, that the bad may be corrected by the good.*

* Homer wrote a ſatire againſt this Margites, who appears to have been a very contemptible character.

Polyeuctus, Ephialtes, Lycurgus, Myrocles, Damon, Callisthenes, and Charidemus. On this occasion, Demosthenes addressed the people in the fable of the sheep, who were to give up their dogs to the wolves, before they would grant them peace. By which he insinuated, that he and the other orators were the guards of the people, as the dogs were of the flock; and that Alexander was the great wolf they had to treat with. And again; "As we "see merchants carrying about a small sample in a "dish, by which they sell large quantities of wheat; "so you, in us, without knowing it, deliver up "the whole body of citizens." These particulars we have from Aristobulus of Cassandria.

The Athenians deliberated upon the point in full assembly; and Demades seeing them in great perplexity, offered to go alone to the king of Macedon, and intercede for the orators, on condition that each of them would give him five talents; whether it was that he depended upon the friendship that prince had for him, or whether he hoped to find him, like a lion, satiated with blood. He succeeded, however, in his application for the orators, and reconciled Alexander to the city.

When Alexander returned to Macedon, the reputation of Demades, and the other orators of his party, greatly increased; and that of Demosthenes gradually declined. It is true, he raised his head a little, when Agis, king of Sparta, took the field; but it soon fell again; for the Athenians refused to join him, Agis was killed in battle, and the Lacedaemonians entirely routed.

* About this time, the affair *concerning the crown*, came again upon the carpet. The information was

* Demosthenes rebuilt the walls of Athens at his own expence; for which the people, at the motion of Ctesiphon, decreed him a crown of gold. This excited the envy and jealousy of Æschines, who thereupon brought that famous impeachment against Demosthenes, which occasioned his inimitable oration *de Corona*.

firſt laid under the Archonſhip of Chaerondas; and the cauſe was not determined till ten years after *, under Ariſtophon. It was the moſt celebrated cauſe that ever was pleaded, as well on account of the reputation of the orators, as the generous behaviour of the judges. For, though the proſecutors of Demoſthenes were then in great power, as being entirely in the Macedonian intereſt, the judges would not give their voices againſt him; but, on the contrary, acquitted him ſo honourably, that Æſchines had not a fifth part of the ſuffrages †. Æſchines immediately quitted Athens, and ſpent the reſt of his days in teaching rhetoric at Rhodes and in Ionia.

It was not long after this, that Harpalus came from Aſia to Athens §. He had fled from the ſervice of Alexander, both becauſe he was conſcious to himſelf of having falſified his truſt, to miniſter to his pleaſures, and becauſe he dreaded his maſter, who now was become terrible to his beſt friends. As he applied to the people of Athens for ſhelter, and deſired protection for his ſhips and treaſures, moſt of the orators had an eye upon the gold, and ſupported his application with all their intereſt. Demoſthenes at firſt adviſed them to order Harpalus off immediately, and to be particularly careful not to involve the city in war again, without any juſt or neceſſary cauſe.

Yet a few days after, when they were taking an account of the treaſure, Harpalus perceiving that De-

* Plutarch muſt be miſtaken here. It does not appear, upon the exacteſt calculation, to have been more than eight years.

† This was a very ignominious circumſtance; for if the accuſer had not a fifth part of the ſuffrages, he was fined a thouſand drachmas.

§ Harpalus had the charge of Alexander's treaſure in Babylon; and, flattering himſelf that he would never return from his Indian expedition, he gave into all manner of crimes and exceſſes. At laſt, when he found that Alexander was really returning, and that he took a ſevere account of ſuch people as himſelf, he thought proper to march off with 5000 talents, and 6000 men, into Attica.

Demoſthenes was much pleaſed with one of the king's cups, and ſtood admiring the workmanſhip and faſhion, deſired him to take it in his hand, and feel the weight of the gold. Demoſthenes being ſurpriſed at the weight, and aſking Harpalus how much it might bring, he ſmiled and ſaid, "It will "bring you twenty talents." And as ſoon as it was night, he ſent him the cup with that ſum. For Harpalus knew well enough how to diſtinguiſh a man's paſſion for gold, by his pleaſure at the ſight, and the keen looks he caſt upon it. Demoſthenes could not reſiſt the temptation: it made all the impreſſion upon him that was expected; he received the money, like a garriſon, into his houſe, and went over to the intereſt of Harpalus. Next day, he came into the aſſembly with a quantity of wool and bandages about his neck; and when the people called upon him to get up and ſpeak, he made ſigns that he had loſt his voice. Upon which, ſome that were by, ſaid, "It was no common hoarſeneſs that he had "got in the night; it was a hoarſeneſs occaſioned by "ſwallowing gold and ſilver." Afterwards, when all the people were appriſed of his taking the bribe, and he wanted to ſpeak in his own defence, they would not ſuffer him, but raiſed a clamour, and expreſſed their indignation. At the ſame time, ſomebody or other ſtood up and ſaid, ſneeringly, "Will you not "liſten to the man with the cup *." The Athenians then immediately ſent Harpalus off; and, fearing they might be called to account for the money with which the orators had been corrupted, they made a ſtrict enquiry after it, and ſearched all their houſes, except that of Callicles the ſon of Arrenides; whom they ſpared, as Theopompus ſays, becauſe he was newly married, and his bride was in his houſe.

* This alludes to a cuſtom of the ancients at their feaſts; wherein it was uſual for the cup to paſs from hand to hand; and the perſon who held it ſung a ſong, to which the reſt gave attention.

At the ſame time, Demoſthenes, ſeemingly with a deſign to prove his innocence, moved for an order, that the affair ſhould be brought before the court of Areopagus, and all perſons puniſhed who ſhould be found guilty of taking bribes. In conſequence of which, he appeared before that court, and was one of the firſt that were convicted. Being ſentenced to pay a fine of fifty talents, and to be impriſoned till it was paid, the diſgrace of his conviction, and the weakneſs of his conſtitution, which could not bear cloſe confinement, determined him to fly; and this he did, undiſcovered by ſome, and aſſiſted by others. It is ſaid, that, when he was not far from the city, he perceived ſome of his late adverſaries following, and endeavoured to hide himſelf. But they called to him by name; and when they came nearer, deſired him to take ſome neceſſary ſupplies of money, which they had brought with them for that purpoſe. They aſſured him, they had no other deſign in following; and exhorted him to take courage. But Demoſthenes gave into more violent expreſſions of grief than ever, and ſaid, "What "comfort can I have, when I leave enemies in this "city more generous than it ſeems poſſible to find "friends in any other?" * He bore his exile in a very weak and effeminate manner. For the moſt part, he reſided in Ægina or Troezene; where, whenever he looked towards Attica, the tears fell from his eyes. In his expreſſions, there was nothing of a rational firmneſs; nothing anſwerable to the bold things he had ſaid and done in his adminiſtration. When he left Athens, we are told, he lifted up his hands towards the citadel, and ſaid, "O Minerva, goddeſs of thoſe towers, whence is "it

* It is recorded by Photius, that Æſchines, when he left Athens, was followed in like manner, and aſſiſted by Demoſthenes; and that, when he offered him conſolations, he made the ſame anſwer. Plutarch likewiſe mentions this circumſtance in the lives of the ten orators.

"it that thou delighteſt in three ſuch monſters as "an owl, a dragon, and the people?" The young men who reſorted to him for inſtruction, he adviſed, by no means, to meddle with affairs of ſtate. He told them, "That, if two roads had been ſhewn "him at firſt, the one leading to the *roſtrum* and the "buſineſs of the aſſembly, and the other to certain "deſtruction; and he could have foreſeen the evils "that awaited him in the political walk, the fears, "the envy, the calumny, and contention; he would "have choſen that road which led to immediate "death."

During the exile of Demoſthenes, Alexander died *. The Greek cities once more combining upon that event, Leoſthenes performed great things; and, among the reſt, drew a line of circumvallation around Antipater, whom he had ſhut up in Lamia. Pytheas the orator, with Callimedon and Carabus, left Athens, and, going over to Antipater, accompanied his friends and ambaſſadors in their applications to the Greeks, and in perſuading them not to deſert the Macedonian cauſe, nor liſten to the Athenians. On the other hand, Demoſthenes joined the Athenian deputies, and exerted himſelf greatly with them in exhorting the ſtates to fall with united efforts upon the Macedonians, and drive them out of Greece. Phylarchus tells us, that, in one of the cities of Arcadia, Pytheas and Demoſthenes ſpoke with great acrimony; the one in pleading for the Macedonians, and the other for the Greeks. Pytheas is reported to have ſaid, "As ſome ſickneſs is "always ſuppoſed to be in the houſe into which "aſs's milk is brought; ſo the city, which an Athe-"nian embaſſy ever enters, muſt neceſſarily be in a "ſick and decaying condition." Demoſthenes turned the compariſon againſt him, by ſaying, "As "aſs's milk never enters but for curing the ſick; ſo

* Olymp. cxiv. Demoſthenes was then in his fifty-eighth year.

" the Athenians never appear but for remedying " ſome diſorder."

The people of Athens were ſo much pleaſed with this repartee, that they immediately voted for the recall of Demoſthenes. It was Damon the Paeanean, couſin-german to Demoſthenes, who drew up the decree. A galley was ſent to fetch him from Ægina; and when he came up from the Piraeus to Athens, the whole body of citizens went to meet and congratulate him on his return; inſomuch, that there was neither a magiſtrate nor prieſt left in the town. Demetrius of Magneſia acquaints us, that Demoſthenes lifted up his hands towards heaven in thanks for that happy day. " Happier," ſaid he, " is my return " than that of Alcibiades. It was through com- " pulſion that the Athenians reſtored him, but me " they have recalled from a motive of kindneſs."

The fine, however, ſtill remained due; for they could not extend their grace ſo far as to repeal his ſentence. But they found out a method to evade the law, while they ſeemed to comply with it. It was the cuſtom, in the ſacrifices to Jupiter the preſerver, to pay the perſons who prepared and adorned the altars. They, therefore, appointed Demoſthenes to this charge; and ordered that he ſhould have fifty talents for his trouble, which was the ſum his fine amounted to.

But he did not long enjoy his return to his country. The affairs of Greece ſoon went to ruin. They loſt the battle of Crano in the month of Auguſt *, a Macedonian garriſon entered Munychia in September †; and Demoſthenes loſt his life in October §.

It happened in the following manner. When news was brought that Antipater and Craterus were coming to Athens, Demoſthenes and thoſe of his party haſtened to get out privately before their arrival. Hereupon, the people, at the motion of Demades,

* *Metagîtnion.* † *Boëdromion.* § *Pyanepſion.*

mades, condemned them to death. As they fled different ways, Antipater ſent a company of ſoldiers about the country to ſeize them. Archias, ſurnamed *Phugadotheras*, or *the exile-hunter*, was their captain. It is ſaid, he was a native of Thurium, and had been ſome time a tragedian; they add, that Polus of Ægina, who excelled all the actors of his time, was his ſcholar. Hermippus reckons Archias among the diſciples of Lacritus the rhetorician; and Demetrius ſays he ſpent ſome time at the ſchool of Anaximenes. This Archias, however, drew Hyperides the orator, Ariſtonicus of Marathon, and Himeraeus, the brother of Demetrius the Phalerean, out of the temple of Æacus in Ægina, where they had taken refuge, and ſent them to Antipater at Cleonae. There they were executed; and Hyperides is ſaid to have firſt had his tongue cut out.

Archias being informed that Demoſthenes had taken ſanctuary in the temple of Neptune in Calauria, he and his Thracian ſoldiers paſſed over to it in row-boats. As ſoon as he was landed, he went to the orator, and endeavoured to perſuade him to quit the temple, and go with him to Antipater; aſſuring him that he had no hard meaſure to expect. But it happened that Demoſthenes had ſeen a ſtrange viſion the night before. He thought that he was contending with Archias, which could play the tragedian the beſt; that he ſucceeded in his action; had the audience on his ſide, and would certainly have obtained the prize, had not Archias outdone him in the dreſſes and decorations of the theatre. Therefore, when Archias had addreſſed him with a great appearance of humanity, he fixed his eyes on him, and ſaid, without riſing from his ſeat, "Neither "your action moved me formerly, nor do your pro- "miſes move me now." Archias then began to threaten him; upon which he ſaid, "Before, you "acted a part; now you ſpeak as from the Macedo- "nian tripod. Only wait a while, till I have ſent

"my

" my laſt orders to my family." So ſaying, he retired into the inner part of the temple; and, taking ſome paper, as if he meant to write, he put the pen in his mouth, and bit it a conſiderable time, as he uſed to do when thoughtful about his compoſition: after which, he covered his head, and put it in a reclining poſture. The ſoldiers who ſtood at the door, apprehending that he took theſe methods to put off the fatal ſtroke, laughed at him, and called him a coward. Archias then approaching him, deſired him to riſe, and began to repeat the promiſes of making his peace with Antipater. Demoſthenes, who by this time felt the operation of the poiſon he had taken, ſtrong upon him, uncovered his face, and looking upon Archias, " Now," ſaid he, " you " may act the part of Creon * in the play, as ſoon " as you pleaſe, and caſt out this carcaſe of mine " unburied. For my part, O gracious Neptune, I " quit thy temple with my breath within me. But " Antipater and the Macedonians would not have " ſcrupled to profane it with murder." By this time he could ſcarcely ſtand, and therefore deſired them to ſupport him. But in attempting to walk out he fell by the altar, and expired with a groan.

Ariſto ſays, he ſucked the poiſon from a pen, as we have related it. One Pappus, whoſe memoirs were recovered by Hermippus, reports, that, when he fell by the altar, there was found on his paper the beginning of a letter, " Demoſthenes to Antipater," and nothing more. He adds, that people being ſurpriſed that he died ſo quickly, the Thracians who ſtood at the door, aſſured them that he took the poiſon in his hand out of a piece of cloth, and put it to his mouth. To them it had the appearance of gold. Upon enquiry made by Archias, a young maid who ſerved Demoſthenes, ſaid, he had long wore that piece of cloth by way of amulet. Eratoſthenes

* Alluding to that paſſage in the Antigone of Sophocles, where Creon forbids the body of Polynices to be buried.

toſthenes tells us, that he kept the poiſon in the hollow of a bracelet button which he wore upon his arm. Many others have written upon the ſubject; but it is not neceſſary to give all their different accounts. We ſhall only add, that Democharis, a ſervant of Demoſthenes, aſſerts, that he did not think his death owing to poiſon, but to the favour of the gods, and a happy providence, which ſnatched him from the cruelty of the Macedonians, by a ſpeedy and eaſy death. He died on the ſixteenth of October, which is the moſt mournful day in the ceremonies of the * *Theſmophoria*. The women keep it with faſting in the temple of Ceres.

It was not long before the people of Athens paid him the honours that were due to him, by erecting his ſtatue in braſs, and decreeing that the eldeſt of his family ſhould be maintained in the *Prytaneum*, at the public charge. This celebrated inſcription was put upon the pedeſtal of his ſtatue:

Divine in ſpeech, in judgment, too, divine,
Had valour's wreath, Demoſthenes, been thine,
Fair Greece had ſtill her freedom's enſigns borne,
And held the ſcourge of Macedon in ſcorn!

For no regard is to be paid to thoſe who ſay that Demoſthenes himſelf uttered theſe lines in Calauria, juſt before he took the poiſon †.

A little before I viſited Athens, the following adventure is ſaid to have happened. A ſoldier being ſummoned to appear before the commanding officer upon

* This was an annual feſtival in honour of Ceres. It began the fourteenth of October, and ended the eighteenth. The third day of the feſtival was a day of faſting and mortification; and this is the day that Plutarch ſpeaks of.

† This inſcription, ſo far from doing Demoſthenes honour, is the greateſt diſgrace that the Athenians could have faſtened on his memory. It reproaches him with a weakneſs, which, when the ſafety of his country was at ſtake, was ſuch a deplorable want of virtue and manhood, as no parts or talents could atone for.

upon ſome miſdemeanor, put the little gold he had in the hands of the ſtatue of Demoſthenes, which were in ſome meaſure clenched. A ſmall plane-tree grew by it, and many leaves, either accidentally lodged there by the winds, or purpoſely ſo placed by the ſoldier, covered the gold a conſiderable time. When he returned and found his money entire, the fame of this accident was ſpread abroad, and many of the wits of Athens ſtrove which could write the beſt copy of verſes, to vindicate Demoſthenes from the charge of corruption.

As for Demades, he did not long enjoy the new honours he had acquired. The Being who took it in charge to revenge Demoſthenes, led him into Macedonia, where he juſtly periſhed by the hands of thoſe whom he had baſely flattered. They had hated him for ſome time; but at laſt they caught him in a fact which could neither be excuſed nor pardoned. Letters of his were intercepted, in which he exhorted Perdiccas to ſeize Macedonia, and deliver Greece, which, he ſaid, "hung only by an old rotten ſtalk," meaning Antipater. Dinarchus, the Corinthian, accuſing him of this treaſon, Caſſander was ſo much provoked, that he ſtabbed his ſon in his arms, and afterwards gave orders for his execution. Thus, by the moſt dreadful misfortunes, he learned that *traitors always firſt ſell themſelves:* A truth which Demoſthenes had often told him before, but he would never believe it. Such, my Soſſius, is the life of Demoſthenes, which we have compiled in the beſt manner we could, from books and from tradition.

CICERO.

CICERO.

THE account we have of Helvia the mother of Cicero, is, that her family was noble *, and her character excellent. Of his father there is nothing ſaid, but in extremes. For ſome affirm that he was the ſon of a fuller †, and educated in that trade, while others deduce his origin from Attius Tullus ‡, a prince who governed the Volſci with great reputation. Be that as it may, I think the firſt of the family who bore the name of Cicero, muſt have been an extraordinary man; and for that reaſon his poſterity did not reject the appellation, but rather took to it with pleaſure, though it was a common ſubject of ridicule: for the Latins call a vetch *cicer*, and he had a flat excreſcence on the top of his noſe in reſemblance of a vetch, from which he got that ſurname §. As for the Cicero of whom we are writing, his friends adviſed him, on his firſt application to buſineſs, and ſoliciting one of the great offices of ſtate, to lay aſide or change that name. But he anſwered with great ſpirit, "that he would endeavour to make the "name of Cicero more glorious than that of the "Scauri and the Catuli." When quaeſtor in Sicily, he conſecrated in one of the temples a vaſe or ſome other

* Cinna was of this family.

† Dion tells us that Q. Calenus was the author of this calumny. Cicero in his books *de Legibus* has ſaid enough to ſhew that both his father and grandfather were perſons of property and of a liberal education.

‡ The ſame prince to whom Cariolanus retired four hundred years before.

§ Pliny's account of the origin of this name is more probable. He ſuppoſes that the perſon who firſt bore it was remarkable for the cultivation of vetches. So Fabius, Lentulus, and Piſo, had their names from beans, tares, and peaſe.

other offering in ſilver, upon which he inſcribed his two firſt names *Marcus Tullius*, and, punning upon the third, ordered the artificer to engrave a vetch. Such is the account we have of his name.

He was born on the third of January*, the day on which the magiſtrates now ſacrifice and pay their devotions for the health of the emperor; and it is ſaid that his mother was delivered of him without pain. It is alſo reported, that a ſpectre appeared to his nurſe, and foretold, that the child ſhe had the happineſs to attend, would one day prove a great benefit to the whole commonwealth of Rome. Theſe things might have paſſed for idle dreams, had he not ſoon demonſtrated the truth of the prediction. When he was of a proper age to go to ſchool, his genius broke out with ſo much luſtre, and he gained ſo diſtinguiſhed a reputation among the boys, that the fathers of ſome of them repaired to the ſchools to ſee Cicero, and to have ſpecimens of his capacity for literature; but the leſs civilized were angry with their ſons, when they ſaw them take Cicero in the middle of them as they walked, and always give him the place of honour. He had that turn of genius and diſpoſition which Plato† would have a ſcholar and philoſopher to poſſeſs. He had both capacity and inclination to learn all the arts, nor was there any branch of ſcience that he deſpiſed; yet he was moſt inclined to poetry: and there is ſtill extant a poem, entitled *Pontius Glaucus*‡, which was written by him, when a boy, in *tetramater* verſe. In proceſs of time, when he had ſtudied this art with greater application, he was looked upon as the beſt poet,

* In the ſix hundred and forty ſeventh year of Rome: a hundred and four years before the Chriſtian Era. Pompey was born the ſame year.

† Plato's commonwealth, lib. v.

‡ This Glaucus was a famous fiſherman, who after eating of a certain herb, jumped into the ſea, and became one of the gods of that element. Æſchylus wrote a tragedy on the ſubject. Cicero's poem is loſt.

poet, as well as the greateſt orator in Rome. His reputation for oratory ſtill remains, notwithſtanding the conſiderable changes that have ſince been made in the language; but, as many ingenious poets have appeared ſince his time, his poetry has loſt its credit, and is now neglected *.

When he had finiſhed thoſe ſtudies through which boys commonly paſs, he attended the lectures of Philo the academician, whom, of all the ſcholars of Clitomachus, the Romans moſt admired for his eloquence, and loved for his conduct. At the ſame time he made great improvement in the knowledge of the laws, under Mucius Scaevola, an eminent lawyer, and preſident of the ſenate. He likewiſe got a taſte of military knowledge under Sylla, in the Marſian war †. But, afterwards, finding the commonwealth engaged in civil wars, which were likely to end in nothing but abſolute monarchy, he withdrew to a philoſophic and contemplative life; converſing with men of letters from Greece, and making farther advances in ſcience. This method of life he purſued 'till Sylla had made himſelf maſter, and there appeared to be ſome eſtabliſhed government again.

About this time Sylla ordered the eſtate of one of the citizens to be ſold by auction, in conſequence of his being killed as a perſon proſcribed; when it was ſtruck off to Chryſogonus, Sylla's freedman, at the ſmall ſum of two thouſand *drachmae*. Roſcius, the ſon and heir of the deceaſed, expreſſed his indignation, and declared that the eſtate was worth two

* Plutarch was a very indifferent judge of the Latin poetry, and his ſpeaking with ſo much favour of Cicero's, contrary to the opinion of Juvenal and many others, is a ſtrong proof of it. He tranſlated Aratus into verſe at the age of ſeventeen, and wrote a poem in praiſe of the actions of Marius, which, Scaevola ſaid, would live through innumerable ages. But he was out in his prophecy. It has long been dead. And the poem which he wrote in three books on his own conſulſhip, has ſhared the ſame fate.

† In the eighteenth year of his age.

hundred and fifty talents. Sylla, enraged at having his conduct thus publicly called in queſtion, brought an action againſt Roſcius for the murder of his father, and appointed Chryſogonus to be the manager. Such was the dread of Sylla's cruelty, that no man offered to appear in defence of Roſcius, and nothing ſeemed left for him but to fall a ſacrifice. In this diſtreſs he applied to Cicero, and the friends of the young orator deſired him to undertake the cauſe; thinking he could not have a more glorious opportunity to enter the liſts of fame. Accordingly he undertook his defence, ſucceeded, and gained great applauſe *. But fearing Sylla's reſentment, he travelled into Greece, and gave out that the recovery of his health was the motive. Indeed, he was of a lean and ſlender habit, and his ſtomach was ſo weak, that he was obliged to be very ſparing in his diet, and not to eat 'till a late hour in the day. His voice, however, had a variety of inflections, but was at the ſame time harſh and unformed; and, as in the vehemence and enthuſiaſm of ſpeaking, he always roſe into a loud key, there was reaſon to apprehend that it might injure his health.

When he came to Athens, he heard Antiochus the Aſcalonite, and was charmed with the ſmoothneſs and grace of his elocution, though he did not approve his new doctrines in philoſophy. For Antiochus had left the *new academy*, as it is called, and the ſect of Carneades, either from clear conviction and from the ſtrength of the evidence of ſenſe, or elſe from a ſpirit of oppoſition to the ſchools of Clitomachus and Philo, and had adopted moſt of the doctrines of the Stoics. But Cicero loved the *new academy*, and entered more and more into it's opinions; having already taken his reſolution, if he failed in his deſign of riſing in the ſtate, to retire from the *forum* and all political intrigues, to Athens, and ſpend his days in peace in the boſom of philoſophy.

But

* In his twenty ſeventh year.

But not long after, he received the news of Sylla's death. His body by this time was ſtrengthened by exerciſe, and brought to a good habit. His voice was formed; and at the ſame time that it was full and ſonorous, had gained a ſufficient ſweetneſs, and was brought to a key which his conſtitution could bear. Beſides, his friends at Rome ſollicited him by letters to return, and Antiochus exhorted him much to apply himſelf to public affairs. For which reaſons, he exerciſed his rhetorical powers afreſh, as the beſt engines for buſineſs, and called forth his political talents. In ſhort, he ſuffered not a day to paſs without either declaiming, or attending the moſt celebrated orators. In the proſecution of this deſign, he ſailed to Aſia and the Iſland of Rhodes. Amongſt the rhetoricians of Aſia, he availed himſelf of the inſtructions of Xenocles of Adramyttium, Dionyſius of Magneſia, and Menippus of Caria. At Rhodes he ſtudied under the rhetorician Apollonius the ſon of Molo*, and the philoſopher Poſidonius. It is ſaid, that Apollonius, not underſtanding the Roman language, deſired Cicero to declaim in Greek; and he readily complied, becauſe he thought by that means his faults might the better be corrected. When he had ended his declamation, the reſt were aſtoniſhed at his performance, and ſtrove which ſhould praiſe him moſt; but Apollonius ſhewed no ſigns of pleaſure while he was ſpeaking; and when he had done, he ſate a long time thoughtful and ſilent. At laſt, obſerving the uneaſineſs it gave his pupil, he ſaid, "As for you Cicero, I praiſe and "admire you, but I am concerned for the fate of "Greece. She had nothing left her but the glory "of eloquence and erudition and you are carrying "that too to Rome."

* Not *Apollonius the ſon of Molo*, but *Apollonius Molo*. The ſame miſtake is made by our author in the life of Caeſar.

Cicero now prepared to apply himſelf to public affairs with great hopes of ſucceſs: but his ſpirit received a check from the oracle at Delphi. For upon his enquiring by what means he might riſe to the greateſt glory, the prieſteſs bade him "follow nature, "and not take the opinion of the multitude for the "guide of his life." Hence it was, that after his coming to Rome, he acted at firſt with great caution. He was timorous and backward in applying for public offices, and had the mortification to find himſelf neglected, and called *a Greek*, *a ſcholaſtic*; Terms which the artizans, and others the meaneſt of the Romans, are very liberal in applying. But, as he was naturally ambitious of honour, and ſpurred on beſides by his father and his friends, he betook himſelf to the bar. Nor was it by ſlow and inſenſible degrees that he gained the palm of eloquence; his fame ſhot forth at once, and he was diſtinguiſhed above all the orators of Rome. Yet it is ſaid that his turn for action was naturally as defective as that of Demoſthenes, and therefore he took all the advantage he could from the inſtruction of Roſcius who excelled in comedy, and of Æſop whoſe talents lay in tragedy. This Æſop, we are told, when he was one day acting Atreus, in the part where he conſiders in what manner he ſhould puniſh Thyeſtes, being worked up by his paſſion to a degree of inſanity, with his ſceptre ſtruck a ſervant who happened ſuddenly to paſs by, and laid him dead at his feet. In conſequence of theſe helps, Cicero found his powers of perſuaſion not a little aſſiſted by action and juſt pronunciation. But as for thoſe orators who gave into a bawling manner, he laughed at them, and ſaid, "Their weakneſs made them get up into clamour, "as lame men get on horſeback." His excellence at hitting off a jeſt or repartee, animated his pleadings, and therefore ſeemed not foreign to the buſineſs of the *forum*; but by bringing it much into life, he

he offended numbers of people, and got the character of a malevolent man.

He was appointed quaeſtor at a time when there was a great ſcarcity of corn; and having Sicily for his province, he gave the people a great deal of trouble at firſt, by compelling them to ſend their corn to Rome. But afterwards, when they came to experience his diligence, his juſtice and moderation, they honoured him more than any quaeſtor that Rome had ever ſent them. About that time, a number of young Romans of noble families, who lay under the charge of having violated the rules of diſcipline, and not behaved with ſufficient courage in time of ſervice, were ſent back to the praetor of Sicily. Cicero undertook their defence, and acquitted himſelf of it with great ability and ſucceſs. As he returned to Rome, much elated with theſe advantages, he tells us *, he met with a pleaſant adventure. As he was on the road through Campania, meeting with a perſon of ſome eminence with whom he was acquainted, he aſked him, "what they ſaid and "thought of his actions, in Rome;" imagining that his name and the glory of his atchievements had filled the whole city. His acquaintance anſwered, "Why, where have you been, then, Cicero, all "this time?"

This anſwer diſpirited him extremely: for he found, that the accounts of his conduct had been loſt in Rome, as in an immenſe ſea, and had made no remarkable addition to his reputation. By mature reflection upon this incident, he was brought to retrench his ambition, becauſe he ſaw that contention for glory was an endleſs thing, and had neither meaſure nor bounds to terminate it. Nevertheleſs, his immoderate love of praiſe and his paſſion for glory always remained with him, and often interrupted his beſt and wiſeſt deſigns.

* In his oration for Plancius.

When he began to dedicate himſelf more earneſtly to public buſineſs, he thought that, while mechanics know the name, the place, the uſe of every tool and inſtrument they take in their hands, though thoſe things are inanimate, it would be abſurd for a ſtateſman, whoſe functions cannot be performed but by means of men, to be negligent in acquainting himſelf with the citizens. He therefore made it his buſineſs to commit to memory not only their names, but the place of abode of thoſe of greater note, what friends they made uſe of, and what neighbours were in their circle. So that whatever road in Italy Cicero travelled, he could eaſily point out the eſtates and houſes of his friends.

Though his own eſtate was ſufficient for his neceſſities, yet as it was ſmall, it ſeemed ſtrange that he would take neither fee nor preſent for his ſervices at the bar. This was moſt remarkable in the caſe of Verres. Verres had been *praetor* in Sicily, and committed numberleſs acts of injuſtice and oppreſſion. The Sicilians proſecuted him, and Cicero gained the cauſe for them, not ſo much by pleading, as by forbearing to plead. The magiſtrates, in their partiality to Verres, put off the trial by ſeveral adjournments to the laſt day*; and as Cicero knew there was not time for the advocates to be heard, and the matter determined in the uſual method, he roſe up, and ſaid, "There was no occaſion for pleadings." He therefore brought up the witneſſes, and after their depoſitions were taken, inſiſted that the judges ſhould give their verdict immediately.

Yet we have an account of ſeveral humorous ſayings of Cicero's in this cauſe. When an emancipated ſlave, Caecilius by name, who was ſuſpected of being a Jew, would have ſet aſide the Sicilians, and taken the

* Not 'till the *laſt* day. Cicero brought it on a *few* days before Verres's friends were to come into office; but of the ſeven orations which were compoſed on the occaſion, the two firſt only were delivered. A. U. 683.

the proſecution of Verres upon himſelf*, Cicero ſaid, "What has a Jew to do with ſwine's fleſh?" For the Romans call a boar-pig *verres*. And when Verres reproached Cicero with effeminacy, he anſwered, "Why do not you firſt reprove your own "children?" For Verres had a young ſon who was ſuppoſed to make an infamous uſe of his advantages of perſon. Hortenſius the orator did not venture directly to plead the cauſe of Verres, but he was prevailed on to appear for him at the laying of the fine, and had received an ivory *ſphinx* from him by way of conſideration. In this caſe Cicero threw out ſeveral enigmatical hints againſt Hortenſius; and when he ſaid, "He knew not how to ſolve riddles," Cicero retorted, "That is ſomewhat ſtrange, when you "have a *ſphinx* in your houſe."

Verres being thus condemned, Cicero ſet his fine at ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand *drachmae*; upon which, it was ſaid by cenſorious people, that he had been bribed to let him off ſo low†. The Sicilians, however, in acknowledgement of his aſſiſtance, brought him when he was aedile, a number of things for his games, and other very valuable preſents; but he was ſo far from conſidering his private advantage, that he made no other uſe of their generoſity, than to lower the price of proviſions.

He had a handſome country-ſeat at Arpinum, a farm near Naples, and another at Pompeii, but neither of them were very conſiderable. His wife Terentia brought him a fortune of a hundred and twenty thouſand *denarii*, and he fell heir to ſomething that amounted to ninety thouſand more. Upon this he

* Cicero knew that Caecilius was ſecretly a friend to Verres, and wanted by this means to bring him off.

† This fine indeed was very inconſiderable. The legal fine for extortion in ſuch caſes as that of Verres was twice the ſum extorted. The Sicilians laid a charge of 322916*l.* againſt Verres; the fine muſt therefore have been 645832*l.* but 750,000 drachmae was no more than 24218*l.* Plutarch muſt, therefore, moſt probably have been miſtaken.

lived in a genteel, and at the ſame time a frugal manner, with men of letters, both Greeks and Romans, about him. He rarely took his meal before ſun-ſet; not that buſineſs or ſtudy prevented his ſitting down to table ſooner, but the weakneſs of his ſtomach, he thought, required that regimen. Indeed, he was ſo exact in all reſpects in the care of his health, that he had his ſtated hours for rubbing and for the exerciſe of walking. By this management of his conſtitution, he gained a ſufficient ſtock of health and ſtrength for the great labours and fatigues he afterwards underwent.

He gave up the town-houſe which belonged to his family to his brother, and took up his reſidence on the Palatine Hill, that thoſe who came to pay their court to him might not have too far to go. For he had a levee every day, not leſs than Craſſus had for his great wealth, or Pompey for his power and intereſt in the army; though they were the moſt followed, and the greateſt men in Rome. Pompey himſelf paid all due reſpect to Cicero, and found his political aſſiſtance very uſeful to him, both in reſpect of power and reputation.

When Cicero ſtood for the praetorſhip, he had many competitors who were perſons of diſtinction, and yet he was returned firſt. As a preſident in the courts of juſtice, he acted with great integrity and honour. Licinius Macer who had great intereſt of his own, and was ſupported, beſides, with that of Craſſus, was accuſed before him of ſome default with reſpect to money. He had ſo much confidence in his own influence and the activity of his friends, that, when the judges were going to decide the cauſe, it is ſaid he went home, cut his hair, and put on a white habit, as if he had gained the victory, and was about to return ſo equipped to the *forum*. But Craſſus met him in his court yard, and told him, that all the judges had given verdict againſt him; which affected him in ſuch a manner, that he turned in again,

gain, took to his bed, and died *. Cicero gained honour by this affair, for it appeared that he kept ſtrict watch againſt corruption in the court.

There was another perſon, named Vatinius, an inſolent orator, who paid very little reſpect to the judges in his pleadings. It happened that he had his neck full of ſcrophulous ſwellings. This man applied to Cicero about ſome buſineſs or other; and as that magiſtrate did not immediately comply with his requeſt, but ſate ſome time deliberating, he ſaid, "I could eaſily ſwallow ſuch a thing, if I was "praetor; upon which, Cicero turned towards him, and made anſwer, "But I have not ſo large a "neck."

When there were only two or three days of his office unexpired, an information was laid againſt Manilius for embezzling the public money. This Manilius was a favourite of the people, and they thought he was only proſecuted on Pompey's account, being his particular friend. He deſired to have a day fixed for his trial; and, as Cicero appointed the next day, the people were much offended, becauſe it had been cuſtomary for the praetors to allow the accuſed ten days at the leaſt. The tribunes therefore cited Cicero to appear before the commons, and give an account of this proceeding. He deſired to be heard in his own defence, which was to this effect.—"As I have always behaved to perſons impeached "with all the moderation and humanity that the "laws

* The ſtory is related differently by Valerius Maximus. He ſays that Macer was in court waiting the iſſue, and, perceiving that Cicero was proceeding to give ſentence againſt him, he ſent to inform him that he was dead, and at the ſame time ſuffocated himſelf with his handkerchief. Cicero, therefore, did not pronounce ſentence againſt him, by which means his eſtate was ſaved to his ſon Licinius Calvus. Notwithſtanding this, Cicero himſelf in one of his epiſtles to Atticus ſays that he actually condemned him; and in another of his epiſtles he ſpeaks of the popular eſteem this affair procured him. Cic. Ep. ad Att. l. i. 3, 4.

" laws will allow, I thought it wrong to loſe the op-
" portunity of treating Manilius with the ſame can-
" dour. I was maſter only of one day more in my
" office of praetor, and conſequently muſt appoint
" that; for to leave the deciſion of the cauſe to a-
" nother magiſtrate, was not the method for thoſe
" who were inclined to ſerve Manilius." This made a wonderful change in the minds of the people; they were laviſh in their praiſes, and deſired him to undertake the defence himſelf. This he readily complied with; his regard for Pompey, who was abſent, not being his leaſt inducement. In conſequence hereof, he preſented himſelf before the commons again, and giving an account of the whole affair, took opportunity to make ſevere reflections on thoſe who favoured oligarchy, and envied the glory of Pompey.

Yet for the ſake of their country, the patricians joined the plebeians in raiſing him to the conſulſhip. The occaſion was this. The change which Sylla introduced into the conſtitution, at firſt ſeemed harſh and uneaſy, but by time and cuſtom it came to an eſtabliſhment which many thought not a bad one. At preſent there were ſome who wanted to bring in another change, merely to gratify their own avarice, and without the leaſt view to the public good. Pompey was engaged with the kings of Pontus and Armenia, and there was no force in Rome ſufficient to ſuppreſs the authors of this intended innovation. They had a chief of a bold and enterprizing ſpirit, and the moſt remarkable verſatility of manners; his name Lucius Catiline. Beſide a variety of other crimes, he was accuſed of debauching his own daughter, and killing his own brother. To ſcreen himſelf from proſecution for the latter, he perſuaded Sylla to put his brother among the proſcribed, as if he had been ſtill alive. Theſe profligates, with ſuch a leader, among other engagements of ſecrecy and fidelity, ſacrificed a man, and eat of his fleſh. Catiline

tiline had corrupted great part of the Roman youth, by indulging their deſires in every form of pleaſure, providing them wine and women, and ſetting no bounds to his expences for theſe purpoſes. All Tuſcany was prepared for a revolt, and moſt of Ciſalpine Gaul. The vaſt inequality of the citizens in point of property, prepared Rome, too, for a change. Men of ſpirit amongſt the nobility had impoveriſhed themſelves by their great expences on public exhibitions and entertainments, on bribing for offices, and erecting magnificent buildings; by which means the riches of the city were fallen into the hands of mean people: in this tottering ſtate of the commonwealth, there needed no great force to overſet it, and it was in the power of any bold adventurer to accompliſh it's ruin.

Catiline, however, before he began his operations, wanted a ſtrong fort to ſally out from, and with that view ſtood for the conſulſhip. His proſpect ſeemed very promiſing, becauſe he hoped to have Caius Antonius for his collegue; a man who had no firm principles either good or bad, nor any reſolution of his own, but would make a conſiderable addition to the power of him that led him. Many perſons of virtue and honour perceiving this danger, put up Cicero for the conſulſhip, and the people accepted him with pleaſure. Thus Catiline was baffled, and Cicero * and Caius Antonius appointed conſuls; though Cicero's father was only of the equeſtrian order, and his competitors of patrician families.

Catiline's deſigns were not yet diſcovered to the people. Cicero, however, at his entrance upon his office, had great affairs on his hands, the preludes of what was to follow. On the one hand, thoſe who had been incapacitated by the laws of Sylla to bear offices, being neither inconſiderable in power

nor

* In his forty-third year.

nor in number, began now to ſollicit them, and make all poſſible intereſt with the people. It is true, they alledged many juſt and good arguments againſt the tyranny of Sylla, but it was an unſeaſonable time to give the adminiſtration ſo much trouble. On the other hand, the tribunes of the people propoſed laws which had the ſame tendency to diſtreſs the government; for they wanted to appoint *decemvirs*, and inveſt them with an unlimited power. This was to extend over all Italy, over Syria, and all the late conqueſts of Pompey. They were to be commiſſioned to ſell the public lands in theſe countries, to judge or baniſh whom they pleaſed, to plant colonies, to take money out of the public treaſury, to levy and keep on foot what troops they thought neceſſary. Many Romans of high diſtinction were pleaſed with the bill, and in particular Antony, Cicero's collegue, for he hoped to be one of the ten. It was thought, too, that he was no ſtranger to Catiline's deſigns, and that he did not diſreliſh them on account of his great debts. This was an alarming circumſtance to all who had the good of their country at heart.

This danger, too, was the firſt that Cicero guarded againſt; which he did by getting the province of Macedonia decreed to Antony, and not taking that of Gaul which was allotted to himſelf. Antony was ſo much affected with this favour, that he was ready, like a hired player, to act a ſubordinate part under Cicero for the benefit of his country. Cicero having thus managed his collegue, began with greater courage to take his meaſures againſt the ſeditious party. He alledged his objections againſt the law in the ſenate, and effectually ſilenced the propoſers *. They took another opportunity, however, and coming prepared, inſiſted that the conſuls ſhould appear before the people. Cicero, not in the leaſt intimidated,

* This was the firſt of his three orations *de Lege Agraria*.

ted, commanded the ſenate to follow him. He addreſſed the commons with ſuch ſucceſs, that they threw out the bill; and his victorious eloquence had ſuch an effect upon the tribunes, that they gave up other things which they had been meditating.

He was indeed the man who moſt effectually ſhewed the Romans, what charms eloquence can add to truth, and that juſtice is invincible, when properly ſupported. He ſhewed alſo, that a magiſtrate who watches for the good of the community, ſhould in his actions always prefer right to popular meaſures, and in his ſpeeches know how to make thoſe right meaſures agreeable, by ſeparating from them whatever may offend. Of the grace and power with which he ſpoke, we have a proof in a theatrical regulation that took place in his conſulſhip. Before, thoſe of the equeſtrian order ſate mixed with the commonalty. Marcus Otho in his praetorſhip was the firſt who ſeparated the knights from the other citizens, and appointed them ſeats which they ſtill enjoy *. The people looked upon this as a mark of diſhonour, and hiſſed and inſulted Otho, when he appeared in the theatre. The knights, on the other hand, received him with loud plaudits. The people repeated their hiſſing, and the knights their applauſe; 'till at laſt they came to mutual reproaches, and threw the whole theatre into the utmoſt diſorder. Cicero being informed of the diſturbance, came and called the people to the temple of Bellona, where partly by reproof, partly by lenient applications, he ſo corrected them, that they returned to the theatre, loudly teſtified their approbation of Otho's conduct, and ſtrove with the knights, which ſhould do him the moſt honour.

Catiline's conſpiracy, which at firſt had been intimidated and diſcouraged, began to recover it's ſpirits. The

* About four years before, under the conſulſhip of Piſo and Glabrio. But Otho was not then prætor. He was tribune.

The accomplices aſſembled, and exhorted each other to begin their operations with vigour, before the return of Pompey, who was ſaid to be already marching homewards with his forces. But Catiline's chief motive for action, was the dependence he had on Sylla's veterans. Though theſe were ſcattered all over Italy, the greateſt and moſt warlike part reſided in the cities of Etruria, and in idea were plundering and ſharing the wealth of Italy again. They had Manlius for their leader, a man who had ſerved with great diſtinction under Sylla; and now entering into Catiline's views, they came to Rome to aſſiſt in the approaching election; for he ſollicited the conſulſhip again, and had reſolved to kill Cicero in the tumult of that aſſembly.

The gods ſeemed to preſignify the machinations of theſe incendiaries by earthquakes, thunders, and apparitions. There were alſo intimations from men, true enough in themſelves, but not ſufficient for the conviction of a perſon of Catiline's quality and power. Cicero, therefore, adjourned the day of election; and having ſummoned Catiline before the ſenate, examined him upon the informations he had received. Catiline believing there were many in the ſenate who wanted a change, and at the ſame time being deſirous to ſhew his reſolution to his accomplices who were preſent, anſwered with a calm firmneſs,—"As there are two bodies, one of which is feeble "and decayed, but has a head; the other ſtrong "and robuſt, but is without a head; what harm "am I doing, if I give a head to the body that "wants it?" By theſe enigmatical expreſſions he meant the ſenate and the people. Conſequently Cicero was ſtill more alarmed. On the day of election, he put on a coat of mail; the principal perſons in Rome conducted him from his houſe, and great numbers of the youth attended him to the *campus martius*. There he threw back his robe, and ſhewed part of the coat of mail, on purpoſe to point out his

danger. The people were incenſed, and immediately gathered about him; the conſequence of which was that Catiline was thrown out again, and Silanus and Murena choſen conſuls.

Not long after this, when the Veterans were aſſembling for Catiline in Etruria, and the day appointed for carrying the plot into execution approached, three of the firſt and greateſt perſonages in Rome, Marcus Craſſus, Marcus Marcellus, and Metellus Scipio, went and knocked at Cicero's door about midnight; and having called the porter, bade him awake his maſter, and tell him who attended. Their buſineſs was this: Craſſus's porter brought him in a pacquet of letters after ſupper, which he had received from a perſon unknown. They were directed to different perſons, and there was one for Craſſus himſelf, but without a name. This only Craſſus read; and when he found that it informed him of a great maſſacre intended by Catiline, and warned him to retire out of the city, he did not open the reſt, but immediately went to wait on Cicero. For he was not only terrified at the impending danger, but he had ſome ſuſpicions to remove, which had ariſen from his acquaintance with Catiline. Cicero having conſulted with them what was proper to be done, aſſembled the ſenate at break of day, and delivered the letters according to the directions, deſiring at the ſame time that they might be read in public. They all gave the ſame account of the conſpiracy.

Quintus Arrius, a man of praetorian dignity, moreover, informed the ſenate of the levies that had been made in Etruria, and aſſured them that Manlius, with a very conſiderable force, was hovering about thoſe parts, and only waiting for news of an inſurrection in Rome. On theſe informations, the ſenate made a decree, by which all affairs were committed to the conſuls, and they were impowered to act in the manner they ſhould think beſt for the preſervation

ſervation of the commonwealth. This is an edict which the ſenate ſeldom iſſue, and never but in ſome great and imminent danger.

When Cicero was inveſted with this power, he committed the care of things without the city to Quintus Metellus, and took the direction of all within to himſelf. He made his appearance every day attended and guarded by ſuch a multitude of people, that they filled great part of the *forum*. Catiline, unable to bear any longer delay, determined to repair to Manlius and his army; and ordered Marcius and Cethegus to take their ſwords and go to Cicero's houſe early in the morning, where, under pretence of paying their compliments, they were to fall upon him and kill him. But Fulvia, a woman of quality, went to Cicero in the night, to inform him of his danger, and charged him to be on his guard in particular againſt Cethegus. As ſoon as it was light, the aſſaſſins came, and being denied entrance, they grew very inſolent and clamorous, which made them the more ſuſpected.

Cicero went out afterwards, and aſſembled the ſenate in the temple of Jupiter *ſtator*, which ſtands at the entrance of the *Via Sacra*, in the way to the Palatine Hill. Catiline came among the reſt, as with a deſign to make his defence; but there was not a ſenator who would ſit by him; they all left the bench he had taken; and when he began to ſpeak, they interrupted him in ſuch a manner that he could not be heard.

At length Cicero roſe up, and commanded him to depart the city. "For," ſaid he, "while I employ "only words, and you weapons, there ſhould at "leaſt be walls between us." Catiline, upon this, immediately marched out with three hundred men well armed, and with the *faſces* and other enſigns of authority, as if he had been a lawful magiſtrate. In this form he went to Manlius, and having aſſembled an army of twenty thouſand men, he marched to the cities,

cities; in order to perſuade them to revolt. Hoſtilities being thus openly commenced, Antony, Cicero's collegue, was ſent againſt Catiline.

Such as Catiline had corrupted, and thought proper to leave in Rome, were kept together and encouraged by Cornelius Lentulus, ſurnamed Sura, a man of noble birth, but bad life. He had been expelled the ſenate for his debaucheries, but was then praetor the ſecond time; for that was a cuſtomary qualification when ejected perſons were to be reſtored to their places in the ſenate *. As to the ſurname of Sura, it is ſaid to have been given him on this occaſion. When he was quaeſtor in the time of Sylla, he had laviſhed away vaſt ſums of the public money. Sylla, incenſed at his behaviour, demanded an account of him in full ſenate. Lentulus came up in a very careleſs and diſreſpectful manner, and ſaid, "I "have no account to give, but I preſent you with the "calf of my leg;" which was a common expreſſion among the boys, when they miſſed their ſtroke at tennis. Hence he had the ſurname of *Sura*, which is the Roman word for the calf of the leg. Another time, being proſecuted for ſome great offence, he corrupted the judges. When they had given their verdict, though he was acquitted only by a majority of two, he ſaid, "he had put himſelf to a needleſs ex-"pence in bribing one of thoſe judges, for it would "have been ſufficient to have had a majority of "one."

Such was the diſpoſition of this man, who had not only been ſollicited by Catiline, but was moreover infatuated with vain hopes, which prognoſticators and other impoſtors held up to him. They forged verſes in an oracular form, and brought him them, as from the books of the Sibyls. Theſe lying prophecies ſignified the decree of fate, "that three of

* When a Roman ſenator was expelled, an appointment to the praetorial office was a ſufficient qualification for him to reſume his ſeat. Dion. l. xxxvii.

" the Cornelii would be monarchs of Rome." They " added; " that two had already fulfilled their deſ-" tiny, Cinna and Sylla; that he was the third Cor-" nelius whom the gods now offered the monarchy; " and that he ought by all means to embrace his " high fortune, and not ruin it by delays, as Cati-" line had done."

Nothing little or trivial now entered into the ſchemes of Lentulus. He reſolved to kill the whole ſenate, and as many of the other citizens as he poſſibly could; to burn the city; and to ſpare none but the ſons of Pompey, whom he intended to ſeize, and keep as pledges of his peace with that general. For by this time it was ſtrongly reported that he was on his return from his great expedition. The conſpirators had fixed on a night during the feaſt of the *ſaturnalia*, for the execution of their enterpriſe. They had lodged arms and cumbuſtible matter in the houſe of Cethegus. They had divided Rome into a hundred parts, and pitched upon the ſame number of men, each of which was allotted his quarter to ſet fire to. As this was to be done by them all at the ſame moment, they hoped that the conflagration would be general; others were to intercept the water, and kill all that went to ſeek it.

While theſe things were preparing, there happened to be at Rome two ambaſſadors from the Allobroges, a nation that had been much oppreſſed by the Romans, and was very impatient under their yoke. Lentulus and his party thought theſe ambaſſadors proper perſons to raiſe commotions in Gaul, and bring that country into their intereſt, and therefore made them partners in the conſpiracy. They likewiſe charged them with letters to their magiſtrates, and to Catiline. To the Gauls they promiſed liberty, and they deſired Catiline to enfranchiſe the ſlaves, and march immediately to Rome. Along with the ambaſſadors, they ſent one Titus of Crotona,

to carry the letters to Catiline. But the meaſures of theſe inconſiderate men, who generally conſulted upon their affairs over their wine and in company with women, were ſoon diſcovered by the indefatigable diligence, the ſober addreſs, and great capacity of Cicero, He had his emiſſaries in all parts of the city, to trace every ſtep they took; and he had, beſides, a ſecret correſpondence with many who pretended to join in the conſpiracy; by which means he got intelligence of their treating with thoſe ſtrangers.

In conſequence hereof, he laid an ambuſh for the Crotonian in the night, and ſeized him and the letters; the ambaſſadors themſelves privately lending him their aſſiſtance *. Early in the morning he aſſembled the ſenate in the temple of *Concord*, where he read the letters, and took the depoſitions of the witneſſes. Junius Silanus depoſed, that ſeveral perſons had heard Cethegus ſay, that three conſuls and four praetors would very ſoon be killed. The evidence of Piſo, a man of conſular dignity, contained circumſtances of the like nature. And Caius Sulpitius, one of the praetors, who was ſent to Cethegus's houſe, found there a great quantity of javelins, ſwords, poinards, and other arms, all new furbiſhed. At laſt, the ſenate giving the Crotonian a promiſe of indemnity, Lentulus ſaw himſelf entirely detected, and laid down his office (for he was then praetor): he put off his purple robe in the houſe, and took another more ſuitable to his preſent diſtreſs. Upon which, both he and his accomplices were delivered to the praetors, to be kept in cuſtody, but not in chains.

By this time it grew late, and as the people were waiting without in great numbers for the event of the day, Cicero went out and gave them an account of it. After which, they conducted him to the houſe

* Theſe ambaſſadors had been ſollicited by Umbrenus to join his party. Upon mature deliberation they thought it ſafeſt to abide by the ſtate, and diſcovered the plot to Fabius Sanga the patron of their nation.

of a friend who lived in his neighbourhood; his own being taken up with the women, who were then employed in the myſterious rites of the goddeſs, whom the Romans call *Bona*, or the *Good*, and the Greeks *Gynecea*. An annual ſacrifice is offered her in the conſul's houſe by his wife and mother, and the veſtal virgins give their attendance. When Cicero was retired to the apartments aſſigned him, with only a few friends, he began to conſider what puniſhment he ſhould inflict upon the criminals. He was extremely loth to proceed to a capital one, which the nature of their offence ſeemed to demand, as well by reaſon of the mildneſs of his diſpoſition, as for fear of incurring the cenſure of making an extravagant and ſevere uſe of his power againſt men who were of the firſt families, and had powerful connections in Rome. On the other ſide, if he gave them a more gentle chaſtiſement, he thought he ſhould ſtill have ſomething to fear from them. He knew that they would never reſt with any thing leſs than death, but would rather break out into the moſt deſperate villainies, when their former wickedneſs was ſharpened with anger and reſentment. Beſides, he might himſelf be branded with the mark of timidity and weakneſs, and the rather becauſe he was generally ſuppoſed not to have much courage.

Before Cicero could come to a reſolution, the women who were ſacrificing obſerved an extraordinary preſage. When the fire on the altar ſeemed to be extinguiſhed, a ſtrong and bright flame ſuddenly broke out of the embers. The other women were terrified at the prodigy, but the veſtal virgins ordered Terentia, Cicero's wife, to go to him immediately, and command him from them, "boldly to follow his beſt judgment in the ſervice of his country; becauſe the goddeſs, by the brightneſs of this flame, promiſed him not only ſafety but glory in his enterprize." Terentia was by no means of a meek and timorous diſpoſition, but had her ambition,

and (as Cicero himſelf ſays) took a greater ſhare with him in politics, than ſhe permitted him to have in domeſtic buſineſs. She now informed him of the prodigy, and exaſperated him againſt the criminals. His brother Quintus, and Publius Nigidius, one of his philoſophical friends, whom he made great uſe of in the adminiſtration, ſtrengthened him in the ſame purpoſe.

Next day, the ſenate met to deliberate on the puniſhment of the conſpirators, and Silanus, being firſt aſked his opinion, gave it for ſending them to priſon, and puniſhing them in the ſevereſt manner that was poſſible. The reſt in their order agreed with him, 'till it came to Caius Caeſar, who was afterwards dictator. Caeſar, then a young man, and juſt in the dawn of power, both in his meaſures and his hopes, was taking that road which he continued in 'till he turned the Roman commonwealth into a monarchy. This was not obſerved by others, but Cicero had ſtrong ſuſpicions of him. He took care, however, not to give him a ſufficient handle againſt him. Some ſay the conſul had almoſt got the neceſſary proofs, and that Caeſar had a narrow eſcape. Others aſſert, that Cicero purpoſely neglected the informations that might have been had againſt him, for fear of his friends and his great intereſt. For, had Caeſar been brought under the ſame predicament with the conſpirators, it would rather have contributed to ſave than to deſtroy them.

When it came to his turn to give judgment, he roſe and declared, "not for puniſhing them capitally, "but for confiſcating their eſtates, and lodging "them in any of the towns of Italy that Cicero "ſhould pitch upon, where they might be kept in "chains 'till Catiline was conquered*." To this opinion, which was on the merciful ſide, and ſupported

* Plutarch ſeems here to intimate that after the defeat of Catiline, they might be put upon their trial; but it appears from Salluſt that Caeſar had no ſuch intention.

ported with great eloquence by him who gave it, Cicero himſelf added no ſmall weight. For in his ſpeech he gave the arguments at large for both opinions, firſt for the former, and afterwards for that of Caeſar. And all Cicero's friends, thinking it would be leſs invidious for him, to avoid putting the criminals to death, were for the latter ſentence: inſomuch that even Silanus changed ſides, and excuſed himſelf by ſaying that he did not mean capital puniſhment, for that impriſonment was the ſevereſt, which a Roman ſenator could ſuffer.

The matter thus went on, 'till it came to Lutatius Catulus. He declared for capital puniſhment; and Cato ſupported him, expreſſing in ſtrong terms his ſuſpicions of Caeſar; which ſo rouzed the ſpirit and indignation of the ſenate, that they made a decree for ſending the conſpirators to execution. Caeſar then oppoſed the confiſcating their goods; for he ſaid, it was unreaſonable, when they rejected the mild part of his ſentence, to adopt the ſevere. As the majority ſtill inſiſted upon it, he appealed to the tribunes. The tribunes, indeed, did not put in their prohibition, but Cicero himſelf gave up the point, and agreed that the goods ſhould not be forfeited.

After this, Cicero went at the head of the ſenate to the criminals, who were not all lodged in one houſe, but in thoſe of the ſeveral praetors. Firſt he took Lentulus from the Palatine Hill, and led him down the *Via Sacra*, and through the middle of the *forum*. The principal perſons in Rome attended the conſul on all ſides, like a guard; the people ſtood ſilent at the horror of the ſcene; and the youth looked on with fear and aſtoniſhment, as if they were initiated that day in ſome aweful ceremonies of Ariſtocratic power. When he had paſſed the *forum*, and was come to the priſon, he delivered Lentulus to the executioner. Afterwards he brought Cethegus, and all the reſt in their order, and they were

put

put to death. In his return he ſaw others who were in the conſpiracy ſtanding thick in the *forum*. As theſe knew not the fate of their ringleaders, they were waiting for night, in order to go to their reſcue, for they ſuppoſed them yet alive. Cicero, therefore, called out to them aloud, *They did live.* The Romans, who chuſe to avoid all inauſpicious words, in this manner expreſs death.

By this time it grew late, and as he paſſed through the *forum* to go to his own houſe, the people now did not conduct him in a ſilent and orderly manner, but crowded to hail him with loud acclamations and plaudits, calling him *the ſaviour and ſecond founder of Rome.* The ſtreets were illuminated * with a multitude of lamps and torches placed by the doors. The women held out lights from the tops of the houſes, that they might behold, and pay a proper compliment to the man who was followed with ſolemnity by a train of the greateſt men in Rome, moſt of whom had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by ſucceſsful wars, led up triumphs, and enlarged the empire both by ſea and land. All theſe, in their diſcourſe with each other as they went along, acknowledged that Rome was indebted to many generals and great men of that age for pecuniary acquiſitions, for rich ſpoils, for power, but for preſervation and ſafety to Cicero alone, who had reſcued her from ſo great and dreadful a danger. Not that his quaſhing the enterprize, and puniſhing the delinquents, appeared ſo extraordinary a thing; but the wonder was, that he could ſuppreſs the greateſt conſpiracy that ever exiſted, with ſo little inconvenience to the ſtate, without the leaſt ſedition or tumult. For many who had joined Catiline, left him on receiving intelligence of the fate of Lentulus and Cethegus;

* Illuminations are of high antiquity. They came originally from the nocturnal celebration of religious myſteries; and on that account carried the idea of veneration and reſpect with them.

and that traitor giving Antony battle with the troops that remained, was deſtroyed with his whole army.

Yet ſome were diſpleaſed with this conduct and ſucceſs of Cicero, and inclined to do him all poſſible injury. At the head of this faction were ſome of the magiſtrates for the enſuing year; Caeſar who was to be praetor, and Metellus and Beſtia * tribunes. Theſe laſt entering upon their office a few days before that of Cicero's expired, would not ſuffer him to addreſs the people. They placed their own benches on the *roſtra*, and only gave him permiſſion to take the oath upon laying down his office †, after which he was to deſcend immediately. Accordingly when Cicero went up, it was expected that he would take the cuſtomary oath; but ſilence being made, inſtead of the uſual form, he adopted one that was new and ſingular. The porport of it was, that "he "had ſaved his country, and preſerved the empire;" and all the people joined in it.

This exaſperated Caeſar and the tribunes ſtill more, and they endeavoured to create him new troubles. Among other things they propoſed a decree for calling Pompey home with his army, to ſuppreſs the deſpotic power of Cicero. It was happy for him, and for the whole commonwealth, that Cato was then one of the tribunes; for he oppoſed them with an authority equal to theirs, and a reputation that was much greater, and conſequently broke their meaſures with eaſe. He made a ſet ſpeech upon Cicero's conſulſhip, and repreſented it in ſo glorious a light, that the higheſt honours were decreed him, and he was called *the father of his country*; a mark of diſtinction which none ever gained before. Cato beſtowed

* Beſtia went out of office on the eighth of December. Metellus and Sextius were tribunes.

† The conſuls took two oaths; one, on entering into their office, that they would act according to the laws; the other, on quitting it, that they had not acted contrary to the laws.

beſtowed that title on him before the people, and they confirmed it *.

His authority in Rome at that time was undoubtedly great; but he rendered himſelf obnoxious and burthenſome to many, not by any ill action, but by continually praiſing and magnifying himſelf. He never entered the ſenate, the aſſembly of the people, or the courts of judicature, but Catiline and Lentulus were the burthen of his ſong. Not ſatisfied with this, his writings were ſo interlarded with encomiums on himſelf, that though his ſtyle was elegant and delightful, his diſcourſes were diſguſting and nauſeous to the reader; for the blemiſh ſtuck to him like an incurable diſeaſe.

But though he had ſuch an inſatiable avidity of honour, he was never unwilling that others ſhould have their ſhare. For he was entirely free from envy, and it appears from his works that he was moſt liberal in his praiſes, not only of the ancients, but of thoſe of his own time. Many of his remarkable ſayings, too, of this nature, are preſerved. Thus of Ariſtotle he ſaid, "That he was a river of flowing "gold;" and of Plato's dialogues, "That if Jupiter "were to ſpeak, he would ſpeak as he did." Theophraſtus he uſed to call his "particular favourite;" and being aſked which of Demoſthenes's orations he thought the beſt, he anſwered, "the longeſt." Some who affect to be zealous admirers of that orator, complain, indeed, of Cicero's ſaying in one of his epiſtles, "that Demoſthenes ſometimes nodded in "his orations:" but they forget the many great encomiums he beſtowed on him in other parts of his works; and do not conſider that he gave the title of *Philippics* to his orations againſt Mark Antony, which were the moſt elaborate he ever wrote. There was not one of his cotemporaries celebrated either for

* Q. Catulus was the firſt who gave him the title. Cato, as tribune, confirmed it before the people.

for eloquence or philoſophy, whoſe fame he did not promote, either by ſpeaking or writing of him in an advantageous manner. He perſuaded Caeſar, when dictator, to grant Cratippus the peripatetic, the freedom of Rome. He likewiſe prevailed upon the council of *Areopagus* to make out an order, for deſiring him to remain at Athens, to inſtruct the youth; and not deprive their city of ſuch an ornament. There are, moreover, letters of Cicero's to Herodes, and others to his ſon, in which he directs them to ſtudy philoſophy under Cratippus. But he accuſes Gorgias the rhetorician of accuſtoming his ſon to a life of pleaſure and intemperance, and therefore forbids the young man his ſociety. Amongſt his Greek letters, this, and another to Pelops the Byzantine, are all that diſcover any thing of reſentment. His reprimand to Gorgias certainly was right and proper, if he was the diſſolute man that he paſſed for; but he betrays an exceſſive meanneſs in his expoſtulations with Pelops, for neglecting to procure him certain honours from the city of Byzantium.

Theſe were the effects of his vanity. Superior keenneſs of expreſſion, too, which he had at command, led him into many violations of decorum. He pleaded for Munatius in a certain cauſe; and his client was acquitted in conſequence of his defence. Afterwards Munatius proſecuted Sabinus, one of Cicero's friends; upon which, he was ſo much tranſported with anger as to ſay, "Thinkeſt thou, "it was the merit of thy cauſe that ſaved thee, and "not rather the cloud which I threw over thy "crimes, and which kept them from the ſight of "the court." He had ſucceeded in an encomium on Marcus Craſſus from the *roſtrum*; and a few days after as publicly reproached him. "What!" ſaid Craſſus, "did you not lately praiſe me in the place "where you now ſtand?" "True;" anſwered Cicero, "but I did it by way of experiment, to ſee "what I could make of a bad ſubject." Craſſus had

had once affirmed, that none of his family ever lived above threeſcore years; but afterwards wanted to "contradict it, and ſaid, "What could I be think-"ing of when I aſſerted ſuch a thing?" "You "knew," ſaid Cicero, "that ſuch an aſſertion "would be very agreeable to the people of Rome." Craſſus happened, one day, to profeſs himſelf much pleaſed with that maxim of the ſtoics, "* The good "man is always rich." "I imagine," ſaid Cicero, "there is another more agreeable to you, *All things* "*belong to the prudent.*" For Craſſus was notoriouſly covetous. Craſſus had two ſons, one of which reſembled a man called Accius ſo much, that his mother was ſuſpected of an intrigue with him. This young man ſpoke in the ſenate with great applauſe; and Cicero being aſked what he thought of him, anſwered in Greek *axios Craſſou* †. When Craſſus was going to ſet out for Syria, he thought it better to leave Cicero his friend than his enemy, and therefore addreſſed him one day in an obliging manner, and told him he would come and ſup with him. Cicero accepted the offer with equal politeneſs. A few days after, Vatinius likewiſe applied to him by his friends, and deſired a reconciliation. "What!" ſaid Cicero, "does Vatinius too want to ſup with me?" Such were his jeſts upon Craſſus. Vatinius had ſcrophulous tumors in his neck; and one day when he was pleading, Cicero called him "a tumid orator." An account was once brought Cicero that Vatinius was dead, which being afterwards contradicted, he ſaid, "May vengeance ſeize the tongue that told the "lie!" When Cæſar propoſed a decree for diſtributing the lands in Campania among the ſoldiers, many of

* παντα ειναι τω σοφω. The Greek σοφος ſignifies cunning, ſhrewd, prudent, as well as wiſe; and in any of the former acceptations the ſtoic maxim was applicable to Craſſus. Thus *frugi*, in Latin, is uſed indifferently either for ſaving prudence, or for ſober wiſdom.

† An ill-mannered pun, which ſignifies either that the young man was worthy of Craſſus, or that he was the ſon of Accius.

of the ſenators were diſpleaſed at it; and Lucius Gellius, in particular, who was one of the oldeſt of them, ſaid, "That ſhall never be while I live." "Let us wait a while then," ſaid Cicero; "for "Gellius requires no very long credit." There was one Octavius who had it objected to him, that he was an African. One day, when Cicero was pleading, this man ſaid he could not hear him. "That "is ſomewhat ſtrange," ſaid Cicero; "for you are "not without a hole in your ear *." When Metellus Nepos told him, "that he had ruined more as "an evidence, than he had ſaved as an advocate;" "I grant it," ſaid Cicero, "for I have more truth "than eloquence." A young man, who lay under the imputation of having given his father a poiſoned cake, talking in an inſolent manner, and threatening that Cicero ſhould feel the weight of his reproaches, Cicero anſwered, "I had much rather have them "than your cake." Publius Seſtius had taken Cicero, among others, for his advocate, in a cauſe of ſome importance; and yet he would ſuffer no man to ſpeak but himſelf. When it appeared that he would be acquitted, and the judges were giving their verdict, Cicero called to him, and ſaid, "Seſtius, "make the beſt uſe of your time to-day, for to-"morrow you will be out of office †." Publius Cotta, who affected to be thought an able lawyer, though he had neither learning nor capacity, being called in as a witneſs in a certain cauſe, declared, "he knew nothing of the matter." "Perhaps," ſaid Cicero, "you think I am aſking you ſome "queſtion in law." Metellus Nepos, in ſome difference with Cicero, often aſking him, "Who is "your father?" he replied, "Your mother has "made

* A mark of ſlavery amongſt ſome nations; but the Africans wore pendants in their ears by way of ornament.

† Probably, Seſtius, not being a profeſſed advocate, would not be employed to ſpeak for any body elſe; and therefore Cicero meant that he ſhould indulge his vanity in ſpeaking for himſelf.

"made it much more difficult for you to anſwer "that queſtion." For his mother had not the moſt unſullied reputation. This Metellus was himſelf a man of a light unbalanced mind. He ſuddenly quitted the tribunitial office, and ſailed to Pompey in Syria; and when he was there, he returned in a manner ſtill more abſurd. When his preceptor Philagrus died, he buried him in a pompous manner, and placed the figure of a crow in marble on his monument *. "This," ſaid Cicero, "was one "of the wiſeſt things you ever did; for your pre-"ceptor has taught you rather to fly than to "ſpeak †." Marcus Appius having mentioned in the introduction to one of his pleadings, that his friend had deſired him to try every reſource of care, eloquence, and fidelity in his cauſe, Cicero ſaid, "What a hard-hearted man you are, not to do "any one thing that your friend has deſired of "you?"

It ſeems not foreign to the buſineſs of an orator, to uſe this cutting raillery againſt enemies or opponents; but his employing it indiſcriminately, merely to raiſe a laugh, rendered him extremely obnoxious. To give a few inſtances: He uſed to call Marcus Aquilius, *Adraſtus*, becauſe he had two ſons-in-law who were both in exile ‡. Lucius Cotta, a great lover of wine, was cenſor when Cicero ſollicited the conſulſhip. Cicero, in the courſe of his canvaſs, happening to be thirſty, called for water, and ſaid to his friends who ſtood round him as he drank, "You do well to conceal me, for you "are afraid that the cenſor will call me to account "for drinking water." Meeting Voconius one day with

* It was uſual amongſt the ancients to place emblematic figures on the monuments of the dead; and theſe were either ſuch inſtruments as repreſented the profeſſion of the deceaſed, or ſuch animals as reſembled them in diſpoſition.

† Alluding to the celerity of his expeditions.

‡ Becauſe Adraſtus had married his daughters to Eteocles and Polynices, who were exiled.

with three daughters, who were very plain women, he cried out:

On this conception Phoebus never ſmiled *.

Marcus Gellius, who was ſuppoſed to be of ſervile extraction, happening to read ſome letters in the ſenate with a loud and ſtrong voice, "Do not "be ſurpriſed at it," ſaid Cicero, "for there have "been public cryers in his family." Fauſtus, the ſon of Sylla the dictator, who had proſcribed great numbers of Romans; having run deep in debt, and waſted great part of his eſtate, was obliged to put up public bills for the ſale of it. Upon which, Cicero ſaid, "I like theſe bills much better than his "father's."

Many hated him for theſe keen ſarcaſms; which encouraged Clodius and his faction to form their ſchemes againſt him. The occaſion was this. Clodius, who was of a noble family, young and adventurous, entertained a paſſion for Pompeia, the wife of Caeſar. This induced him to get privately into the houſe, which he did in the habit of a female muſician. The women were offering in Caeſar's houſe that myſterious ſacrifice which is kept from the ſight and knowledge of men. But, though no man is ſuffered to aſſiſt in it, Clodius, who was very young, and had his face yet ſmooth, hoped to paſs through the women to Pompeia undiſcovered. As he entered a great houſe in the night, he was puzzled to find his way; and one of the women belonging to Aurelia, Caeſar's mother, ſeeing him wandering up and down, aſked him his name. Being now forced to ſpeak, he ſaid he was ſeeking Abra, one of Pompeia's maids. The woman, perceiving it was not a female voice, ſhrieked out, and called the matrons together. They immediately made

* A verſe of Sophocles, ſpeaking of Laius the father of Oedipus.

made faſt the doors, and, ſearching the whole houſe, found Clodius ſculking in the apartment of the maid who introduced him.

As the affair made a great noiſe, Caeſar divorced Pompeia, and proſecuted Clodius for that act of impiety. Cicero was at that time his friend; for, during the conſpiracy of Catiline, he had been ready to give him all the aſſiſtance in his power; and even attended as one of his guards. Clodius inſiſted in his defence, that he was not then at Rome, but at a conſiderable diſtance in the country. But Cicero atteſted that he came that very day to his houſe, and talked with him about ſome particular buſineſs. This was, indeed, matter of fact; yet probably it was not ſo much the influence of truth, as the neceſſity of ſatisfying his wife Terentia, that induced him to declare it. She hated Clodius on account of his ſiſter Clodia; for ſhe was perſuaded, that that lady wanted to get Cicero for her huſband; and that ſhe managed the deſign by one Tullus. As Tullus was an intimate friend of Cicero's, and likewiſe conſtantly paid his court to Clodia, who was his neighbour, that circumſtance ſtrengthened her ſuſpicions. Beſides, Terentia was a woman of an imperious temper, and, having an aſcendant over her huſband, ſhe put him upon giving evidence againſt Clodius. Many other perſons of honour alledged againſt him the crimes of perjury, of fraud, of bribing the people, and corrupting the women. Nay, Lucullus brought his maid-ſervants to prove that Clodius had a criminal commerce with his own ſiſter, who was the wife of that nobleman. This was the youngeſt of the ſiſters. And it was generally believed that he had connections of the ſame kind with his other ſiſters; one of which, named Tertia, was married to Martius Rex; and the other, Clodia, to Metellus Celer. The latter was called *Quadrantaria*, becauſe one of her lovers palmed upon her a purſe of ſmall braſs money, inſtead of ſilver; the

the ſmalleſt braſs coin being called a *Quadrans*. It was on this ſiſter's account that Clodius was moſt cenſured. As the people ſet themſelves both againſt the witneſſes and the proſecutors, the judges were ſo terrified, that they thought it neceſſary to place a guard about the court; and moſt of them confounded the letters upon the tablets *. He ſeemed, however, to be acquitted by the majority; but it was ſaid to be through pecuniary applications. Hence Catulus, when he met the judges, ſaid, "You were right in deſiring a guard for your "defence; for you were afraid that ſomebody would "take the money from you." And when Clodius told Cicero, that the judges did not give credit to his depoſition; "Yes," ſaid he, "five and twenty "of them believed me, for ſo many condemned "you; nor did the other thirty believe you, for "they did not acquit you till they had received "your money." As to Caeſar, when he was called upon, he gave no teſtimony againſt Clodius; nor did he affirm that he was certain of any injury done his bed. He only ſaid, "He had divorced Pom-"peia, becauſe the wife of Caeſar ought not only "to be clear of ſuch a crime, but of the very "ſuſpicion of it."

After Clodius had eſcaped this danger, and was elected tribune of the people, he immediately attacked Cicero, and left neither circumſtance nor perſon untried to ruin him. He gained the people by laws that flattered their inclinations, and the conſuls by decreeing them large and wealthy provinces; for Piſo was to have Macedonia, and Gabinius Syria. He regiſtered many mean and indigent perſons as citizens; and armed a number of ſlaves for his conſtant attendants. Of the great triumvirate, Craſſus was an avowed enemy to Cicero, Pompey indifferently careſſed both parties, and Caeſar was going to ſet out upon his expedition to Gaul. Though

* See the note on the parallel paſſage in the life of Caeſar.

Though the latter was not his friend, but rather ſuſpected of enmity ſince the affair of Catiline, it was to him that he applied. The favour he aſked of him, was, that he would take him as his lieutenant; and Caeſar granted it *. Clodius perceiving that Cicero would, by this means, get out of the reach of his tribunitial power, pretended to be inclined to a reconciliation. He threw moſt of the blame of the late difference on Terentia; and ſpoke always of Cicero in terms of candour, not like an adverſary vindictively inclined, but as one friend might complain of another. This removed Cicero's fears ſo entirely †, that he gave up the lieutenancy which Caeſar had indulged him with, and began to attend to buſineſs as before.

Caeſar was ſo much piqued at this proceeding, that he encouraged Clodius againſt him, and drew off Pompey entirely from his intereſt. He declared, too, before the people, that Cicero, in his opinion, had been guilty of a flagrant violation of all juſtice and law, in putting Lentulus and Cethegus to death, without any form of trial. This was the charge which he was ſummoned to anſwer. Cicero then put on mourning, let his hair grow, and, with every token of diſtreſs, went about to ſupplicate the people. Clodius took care to meet him every where in the ſtreets, with his audacious and inſolent crew, who inſulted him on his change of dreſs, and often diſturbed his applications by pelting him with dirt and ſtones. However, almoſt all the equeſtrian order went into mourning with him; and no fewer than twenty thouſand young men, of the beſt families, attended him with their hair diſhevelled, and intreated the

* Cicero ſays that this lieutenancy was a voluntary offer of Caeſar's. Ep. ad Att.

† It does not appear that Cicero was influenced by this conduct of Clodius: He had always expreſſed an indifference to the lieutenancy that was offered to him by Caeſar. Ep. ad Att. L. ii. 18.

people for him. Afterwards the ſenate met, with an intent to decree that the people ſhould change their habits, as in times of public mourning. But, as the conſuls oppoſed it, and Clodius beſet the houſe with his armed band of ruffians, many of the ſenators ran out, rending their garments, and exclaiming againſt the outrage.

But this ſpectacle excited neither compaſſion nor ſhame; and it appeared that Cicero muſt either go into exile, or decide the diſpute with the ſword. In this extremity he applied to Pompey for aſſiſtance; but he had purpoſely abſented himſelf, and remained at his Alban *villa*. Cicero firſt ſent his ſon-in-law Piſo to him, and afterwards went himſelf. When Pompey was informed of his arrival, he could not bear to look him in the face. He was confounded at the thought of an interview with his injured friend, who had fought ſuch battles for him, and rendered him ſo many ſervices in the courſe of his adminiſtration. But being now ſon-in-law to Caeſar, he ſacrificed his former obligations to that connection, and went out at a back-door, to avoid his preſence.

Cicero, thus betrayed and deſerted, had recourſe to the conſuls. Gabinius always treated him rudely; but Piſo behaved with ſome civility. He adviſed him to withdraw from the torrent of Clodius's rage; to bear this change of the times with patience; and to be once more the ſaviour of his country, which, for his ſake, was in all this trouble and commotion.

After this anſwer, Cicero conſulted with his friends. Lucullus adviſed him to ſtay, and aſſured him he would be victorious. Others were of opinion, that it was beſt to fly, becauſe the people would ſoon be deſirous of his return, when they were weary of the extravagance and madneſs of Clodius. He approved of this laſt advice; and taking a ſtatue of Minerva, which he had long kept

in

in his houſe with great devotion, he carried it to the capitol, and dedicated it there, with this inſcription, To MINERVA THE PROTECTRESS OF ROME. About midnight he privately quitted the city; and, with ſome friends who attended to conduct him, took his route on foot through Lucania, intending to paſs from thence to Sicily.

It was no ſooner known that he was fled, than Clodius procured a decree of baniſhment againſt him, which prohibited him fire and water, and admiſſion into any houſe within five hundred miles of Italy. But ſuch was the veneration the people had for Cicero, that in general there was no regard paid to the decree. They ſhewed him every ſort of civility, and conducted him on his way with the moſt cordial attention. Only at Hipponium, a city of Lucania, now called Vibo, one Vibius, a native of Sicily, who had particular obligations to him, and, among other things, had an appointment under him, when conſul, as ſurveyor of the works, now refuſed to admit him into his houſe; but, at the ſame time, acquainted him that he would appoint a place in the country for his reception. And Caius Virginius *, the praetor of Sicily, though indebted to Cicero for conſiderable ſervices, wrote to forbid him entrance into that iſland.

Diſcouraged at theſe inſtances of ingratitude, he repaired to Brunduſium, where he embarked for Dyrrhachium. At firſt he had a favourable gale, but the next day the wind turned about, and drove him back to port. He ſet ſail, however, again, as ſoon as the wind was fair. It is reported, that when he was going to land at Dyrrhachium, there happened to be an earthquake, and the ſea retired to a great diſtance from the ſhore. The diviners inferred that his exile would be of no long continuance, for theſe were tokens of a ſudden change. Great numbers of people came to pay their reſpects to him; and

* Some copies have it *Virgilius.*

the cities of Greece ſtrove which ſhould ſhew him the greateſt civilities; yet he continued dejected and diſconſolate. Like a paſſionate lover, he often caſt a longing look towards Italy, and behaved with a littleneſs of ſpirit, which could not have been expected from a man that had enjoyed ſuch opportunities of cultivation from letters and philoſophy. Nay, he had often deſired his friends not to call him an orator, but a philoſopher, becauſe he had made philoſophy his buſineſs, and rhetoric only the inſtrument of his political operations. But opinion * has great power to efface the tinctures of philoſophy, and infuſe the paſſions of the vulgar into the minds of ſtateſmen, who have a neceſſary connexion and commerce with the multitude; unleſs they take care ſo to engage in every thing extrinſic, as to attend to the buſineſs only, without imbibing the paſſions that are the common conſequence of that buſineſs.

After Clodius had baniſhed Cicero, he burnt his *villas*, and his houſe in Rome; and on the place where the latter ſtood, erected a temple to liberty. His goods he put up to auction, and the cryer gave notice of it every day, but no buyer appeared. By theſe means, he became formidable to the patricians; and having drawn the people with him into the moſt audacious inſolence and effrontery, he attacked Pompey, and called in queſtion ſome of his acts and ordinances in the wars. As this expoſed Pompey to ſome reflections, he blamed himſelf greatly for abandoning Cicero; and, entirely changing his plan, took every means for effecting his return. As Clodius conſtantly oppoſed them, the ſenate decreed that no public buſineſs of any kind ſhould be diſpatched by their body, till Cicero was recalled.

In the conſulſhip of Lentulus, the ſedition increaſed; ſome of the tribunes were wounded in the *forum*;

* Δοξα ſignifies not only *opinion*, but *glory*, *fame*, and, by an eaſy figure, *a paſſion for fame*. The reader will chuſe which ſenſe he thinks beſt.

forum; and Quintus, the brother of Cicero, was left for dead among the ſlain. The people began now to change their opinion; and Annius Milo, one of the tribunes, was the firſt who ventured to call Clodius to anſwer for his violation of the public peace. Many of the people of Rome, and of the neighbouring cities, joined Pompey; with whoſe aſſiſtance he drove Clodius out of the *forum*; and then he ſummoned the citizens to vote. It is ſaid that nothing was ever carried among the commons with ſo great unanimity; and the ſenate endeavouring to give ſtill higher proofs of their attachment to Cicero, decreed that their thanks ſhould be given the cities which had treated him with kindneſs and reſpect during his exile; and that his town and country houſes, which Clodius had demoliſhed, ſhould be rebuilt at the public charge*.

Cicero returned ſixteen months after his baniſhment; and ſuch joy was expreſſed by the cities, ſo much eagerneſs to meet him by all ranks of people, that his own account of it is leſs than the truth, though he ſaid, that "Italy had brought him on "her ſhoulders to Rome." Craſſus, who was his enemy before his exile, now readily went to meet him, and was reconciled. In this, he ſaid, he was willing to oblige his ſon Publius, who was a great admirer of Cicero.

Not long after his return, Cicero taking his opportunity, when Clodius was abſent †, went up with a great company to the capitol, and deſtroyed the tribunitial tables, in which were recorded all the acts in Clodius's time. Clodius loudly complained of this proceeding; but Cicero anſwered,

* The conſuls decreed for rebuilding his houſe in Rome near 11,000 *l.* for his Tuſculan villa near 3,000 *l.*; and for his Formian villa about half that ſum, which Cicero called a very ſcanty eſtimate.

† Cicero had attempted this once before, when Clodius was preſent; but Caius, the brother of Clodius, being praetor, by his means they were reſcued out of the hands of Cicero.

ſwered, "That his appointment as tribune was irregular, becauſe he was of a patrician family, and "conſequently all his acts were invalid." Cato was diſpleaſed, and oppoſed Cicero in this aſſertion. Not that he praiſed Clodius; on the contrary, he was extremely offended at his adminiſtration; but he repreſented, "That it would be a violent ſtretch "of prerogative, for the ſenate to annul ſo many "decrees and acts, among which were his own "commiſſion and his regulations at Cyprus and "Byzantium." The difference which this produced between Cato and Cicero, did not come to an abſolute rupture; it only leſſened the warmth of their friendſhip.

After this, Milo killed Clodius; and being arraigned for the fact, he choſe Cicero for his advocate. The ſenate fearing that the proſecution of a man of Milo's ſpirit and reputation, might produce ſome tumult in the city, appointed Pompey to preſide at this and the other trials; and to provide both for the peace of the city, and the courts of juſtice. In conſequence of which, he poſted a body of ſoldiers in the *forum* before day, and ſecured every part of it. This made Milo apprehenſive that Cicero would be diſconcerted at ſo unuſual a ſight, and leſs able to plead. He therefore perſuaded him to come in a litter to the *forum*; and to repoſe himſelf there till the judges were aſſembled, and the court filled. For he was not only timid in war, but he had his fear when he ſpoke in public; and in many cauſes he ſcarce left trembling even in the height and vehemence of his eloquence. When he undertook to aſſiſt in the defence of Licinius Muraena*, againſt the proſecution of Cato, he was ambitious to outdo Hortenſius, who had already ſpoken with great applauſe; for which reaſon he ſate up all night to prepare himſelf.

But

* Muraena had retained three advocates, Hortenſius, Marcus Craſſus, and Cicero.

But that watching and application hurt him ſo much, that he appeared inferior to his rival.

When he came out of the litter to open the cauſe of Milo, and ſaw Pompey ſeated on high, as in a camp, and weapons gliſtering all around the *forum*, he was ſo confounded that he could ſcarce begin his oration. For he ſhook, and his tongue faultered; though Milo attended the trial with great courage, and had diſdained to let his hair grow, or to put on mourning. Theſe circumſtances contributed not a little to his condemnation. As for Cicero, his trembling was imputed rather to his anxiety for his friend, than to any particular timidity.

Cicero was appointed one of the prieſts called Augurs, in the room of young Craſſus, who was killed in the Parthian war. Afterwards the province of Cicilia, was allotted to him; and he ſailed thither with an army of twelve thouſand foot, and two thouſand ſix hundred horſe. He had it in charge to bring Cappadocia to ſubmit to king Ariobarzanes; which he performed to the ſatisfaction of all parties, without having recourſe to arms. And finding the Cilicians elated on the miſcarriage of the Romans in Parthia, and the commotions in Syria, he brought them to order by the gentleneſs of his government. He refuſed the preſents which the neighbouring princes offered him. He excuſed the province from finding him a public table, and daily entertained at his own charge perſons of honour and learning, not with magnificence indeed, but with elegance and propriety. He had no porter at his gate, nor did any man ever find him in bed; for he roſe early in the morning, and kindly received thoſe who came to pay their court to him, either ſtanding or walking before his door. We are told, that he never cauſed any man to be beaten with rods, or to have his garments rent *;

* This mark of ignominy was of great antiquity. "Where-"fore Hanun took David's ſervants, and ſhaved off one half of "their

never gave opprobrious language in his anger, nor added inſult to puniſhment. He recovered the public money which had been embezzled; and enriched the cities with it. At the ſame time, he was ſatisfied, if thoſe who had been guilty of ſuch frauds, made reſtitution, and fixed no mark of infamy upon them.

He had alſo a taſte of war; for he routed the bands of robbers that had poſſeſſed themſelves of Mount Amanus, and was ſaluted by his army *Imperator* on that account *. Caecilius †, the orator, having deſired him to ſend him ſome panthers from Cilicia for his games at Rome, in his anſwer he could not forbear boaſting of his atchievements. He ſaid, "There were no panthers left in Cilicia. "Thoſe animals, in their vexation to find that they "were the only objects of war, while every thing "elſe was at peace, were fled into Caria."

In his return from his province, he ſtopped at Rhodes, and afterwards made ſome ſtay at Athens; which he did with great pleaſure, in rememberance of the converſations he had formerly had there. He had now the company of all that were moſt famed for erudition; and viſited his former friends and acquaintance. After he had received all due honours and marks of eſteem from Greece, he paſſed on to Rome, where he found the fire of diſſention kindled, and every thing tending to a civil war.

When the ſenate decreed him a triumph, he ſaid, "he had rather follow Caeſar's chariot-wheels in his "triumph, if a reconciliation could be effected be-

"tween

"their beards, and cut off their garments to the middle, even "to their buttocks, and ſent them away." 2 Sam. x. 4.

* He not only received this mark of diſtinction, but public thankſgivings were ordered at Rome for his ſucceſs; and the people went near to decree him a triumph. His ſervices, therefore, muſt have been conſiderable, and Plutarch ſeems to mention them too ſlightly.

† Not Caecilius, but Caelius. He was then aedile, and wanted the Panthers for his public ſhows.

"tween him and Pompey." And in private he tried every healing and conciliating method, by writing to Caeſar, and intreating Pompey. After it came to an open rupture, and Caeſar was on his march to Rome, Pompey did not chuſe to wait for him, but retired, with numbers of the principal citizens in his train. Cicero did not attend him in his flight; and, therefore, it was believed that he would join Caeſar. It is certain that he fluctuated greatly in his opinion, and was in the utmoſt anxiety. For, he ſays, in his epiſtles, "Whither ſhall I "turn?" Pompey has the more honourable cauſe; "but Caeſar manages his affairs with the greateſt "addreſs, and is moſt able to ſave himſelf and his "friends. In ſhort, I know whom to avoid, but "not whom to ſeek." At laſt, one Trebatius, a friend of Caeſar's, ſignified to him by letter, that Caeſar thought he had reaſon to reckon him of his ſide, and to conſider him as partner of his hopes. But if his age would not permit it, he might retire into Greece, and live there in tranquility, without any connection with either party. Cicero was ſurpriſed that Caeſar did not write himſelf, and anſwered angrily, "That he would do nothing unworthy of his "political character." Such is the account we have of the matter in his epiſtles.

However, upon Caeſar's marching for Spain, he croſſed the ſea, and repaired to Pompey. His arrival was agreeable to the generality; but Cato blamed him privately for taking this meaſure. "As "for me," ſaid he, "it would have been wrong "to leave that party which I embraced from the "beginning; but you might have been much more "ſerviceable to your country and your friends, if "you had ſtayed at Rome, and accommodated your-"ſelf to events. Whereas, now, without any rea-"ſon or neceſſity, you have declared yourſelf an "enemy to Caeſar, and are come to ſhare in the "danger with which you had nothing to do."

Theſe

Theſe arguments made Cicero change his opinion; eſpecially when he found that Pompey did not employ him upon any conſiderable ſervice. It is true, no one was to be blamed for this but himſelf; for he made no ſecret of his repenting. He diſparaged Pompey's preparations; he inſinuated his diſlike of his counſels, and never ſpared his jeſts upon his allies. He was not, indeed, inclined to laugh himſelf; on the contrary, he walked about the camp with a very ſolemn countenance; but he often made others laugh, though they were little inclined to it. Perhaps, it may not be amiſs to give a few inſtances. When Domitius advanced a man who had no turn for war, to the rank of captain, and aſſigned for his reaſon, that he was an honeſt and prudent man; "Why, then," ſaid Cicero, "do "not you keep him for governor to your children?" When ſome were commending Theophanes the Leſbian, who was director of the board of works, for conſoling the Rhodians on the loſs of their fleet, "See," ſaid Cicero, "what it is to have a Grecian "director!" When Caeſar was ſucceſsful in almoſt every inſtance, and held Pompey as it were beſieged, Lentulus ſaid, he was informed that Caeſar's friends looked very ſour. "You mean, I ſuppoſe," ſaid Cicero, "that they are out of humour with him." One Martius, newly arrived from Italy, told them, a report prevailed at Rome, that Pompey was blocked up in his camp: "Then," ſaid Cicero, "you took a voyage on purpoſe to ſee it. After Pompey's defeat, Nonnius ſaid, there was room yet for hope, for there were ſeven eagles left in the camp. Cicero anſwered, "That would be good "encouragement, if we were to fight with jack-"daws." When Labienus, on the ſtrength of ſome oracles, inſiſted that Pompey muſt be conqueror at laſt; "By this oracular generalſhip," ſaid Cicero, "we have loſt our camp."

After

After the battle of Pharſalia (in which he was not preſent, on account of his ill health) and after the flight of Pompey, Cato, who had conſiderable forces, and a great fleet at Dyrrhachium, deſired Cicero to take the command, becauſe his conſular dignity gave him a legal title to it. Cicero, however, not only declined it, but abſolutely refuſed taking any farther ſhare in the war. Upon which, young Pompey and his friends called him traitor, drew their ſwords, and would certainly have diſpatched him, had not Cato interpoſed, and conveyed him out of the camp.

He got ſafe to Brunduſium, and ſtayed there ſome time in expectation of Caeſar, who was detained by his affairs in Aſia and Ægypt. When he heard that the conqueror was arrived at Tarentum, and deſigned to proceed from thence by land to Brunduſium, he ſet out to meet him; not without hope, nor yet without ſome ſhame and reluctance at the thought of trying how he ſtood in the opinion of a victorious enemy before ſo many witneſſes. He had no occaſion, however, either to do or to ſay any thing beneath his dignity. Caeſar no ſooner beheld him, at ſome conſiderable diſtance, advancing before the reſt, than he diſmounted, and ran to embrace him; after which, he went on diſcourſing with him alone for many furlongs. He continued to treat him with great kindneſs and reſpect; inſomuch that when he had written an encomium on Cato, which bore the name of that great man, Caeſar, in his anſwer, entitled *Anticato*, praiſed both the eloquence and conduct of Cicero; and ſaid he greatly reſembled Pericles and Theramenes.

When Quintus Ligarius was proſecuted for bearing arms againſt Caeſar, and Cicero had undertaken to plead his cauſe, Caeſar is reported to have ſaid, "Why may we not give ourſelves a pleaſure which "we have not enjoyed ſo long, that of hearing Cicero ſpeak; ſince I have already taken my reſolu-

"tion

" tion as to Ligarius, who is clearly a bad man, as " well as my enemy?" But he was greatly moved when Cicero began; and his ſpeech, as it proceeded, had ſuch a variety of pathos, ſo irreſiſtible a charm, that his colour often changed; and it was evident that his mind was torn with conflicting paſſions. At laſt, when the orator touched on the battle of Pharſalia, he was ſo extremely affected, that his whole frame trembled, and he let drop ſome papers out of his hand. Thus conquered by the force of eloquence, he acquitted Ligarius.

The commonwealth being changed into a monarchy, Cicero withdrew from the ſcene of public buſineſs, and beſtowed his leiſure on the young men who were deſirous to be inſtructed in philoſophy. As theſe were of the beſt families, by his intereſt with them, he once more obtained great authority in Rome. He made it his buſineſs to compoſe and tranſlate philoſophical dialogues, and, to render the Greek terms of logic and natural philoſophy in the Roman language. For it is ſaid, that he firſt, or principally, at leaſt, gave Latin terms for theſe Greek words, *phantaſia*, [imagination] *ſyncatathefis*, [aſſent] *epoche*, [doubt] *catalepſis*, [comprehenſion] *atomos*, [atom] *ameres*, [indiviſible] *xenon*, [void] and many ſuch other terms in ſcience; contriving either by metaphorical expreſſion, or ſtrict tranſlation, to make them intelligible and familiar to the Romans. His ready turn for poetry afforded him amuſement; for, we are told, when he was intent upon it, he could make five hundred verſes in one night. As in this period he ſpent moſt of his time at his Tuſculan *villa*, he wrote to his friends, " that " he led the life of Laertes;" either by way of raillery, as his cuſtom was, or from an ambitious deſire of public employment, and diſcontent in his preſent ſituation. Be that as it may, he rarely went to Rome, and then only to pay his court to Caeſar. He was always one of the firſt to vote him additional honours;

honours; and forward to ſay ſomething new of him and his actions. Thus, when Caeſar ordered Pompey's ſtatues, which had been pulled down, to be erected again, Cicero ſaid, "That, by this act of "humanity in ſetting up Pompey's ſtatues, he had "eſtabliſhed his own."

It is reported that he had formed a deſign to write the hiſtory of his own country, in which he would have interwoven many of the Grecian affairs, and inſerted not only their ſpeeches, but fables. But he was prevented by many diſagreeable circumſtances, both public and private, into moſt of which he brought himſelf by his own indiſcretion. For, in the firſt place, he divorced his wife Terentia. The reaſons he aſſigned, were, that ſhe had neglected him during the war; and even ſent him out without neceſſaries. Beſides, after his return to Italy, ſhe behaved to him with little regard, and did not wait on him during his long ſtay at Brunduſium. Nay, when his daughter, at that time very young, took ſo long a journey to ſee him, ſhe allowed her but an indifferent equipage, and inſufficient ſupplies. Indeed, according to his account, his houſe was become naked and empty, through the many debts which ſhe had contracted. Theſe were the moſt ſpecious pretences for the divorce. Terentia, however, denied all theſe charges; and Cicero himſelf made a full apology for her, by marrying a younger woman not long after. Terentia ſaid, he took her merely for her beauty; but his freedman Tyro affirms that he married her for her wealth, that it might enable him to pay his debts. She was, indeed, very rich, and her fortune was in the hands of Cicero, who was left her guardian. As his debts were great, his friends and relations perſuaded him to marry the young lady, notwithſtanding the diſparity of years, and ſatisfy his creditors out of her fortune.

Antony, in his anſwer to the Philippics, taxes him with "repudiating a wife with whom he was grown "old;

"old*; and raillies him on account of his perpetually keeping at home, like a man unfit either for buſineſs or war. Not long after this match, his daughter Tullia, who, after the death of Piſo, had married Lentulus, died in child-bed. The philoſophers came from all parts to comfort him: For his loſs affected him extremely; and he even put away his new bride, becauſe ſhe ſeemed to rejoice at the death of Tullia. In this poſture were Cicero's domeſtic affairs.

As to thoſe of the public, he had no ſhare in the conſpiracy againſt Caeſar, though he was one of Brutus's particular friends; and no man was more uneaſy under the new eſtabliſhment, or more deſirous of having the commonwealth reſtored. Poſſibly they feared his natural deficiency of courage, as well as his time of life, at which the boldeſt begin to droop. After the work was done by Brutus and Caſſius, the friends of Caeſar aſſembled to revenge his death; and it was apprehended that Rome would again be plunged in civil wars. Antony, who was conſul, ordered a meeting of the ſenate, and made a ſhort ſpeech on the neceſſity of union. But Cicero expatiated in a manner ſuitable to the occaſion; and perſuaded the ſenate, in imitation of the Athenians, to paſs a general amneſty as to all that had been done againſt Caeſar; and to decree provinces to Brutus and Caſſius.

None of theſe things, however, took effect. For the people were inclined to pity on this event; and when they beheld the dead body of Caeſar carried into the *forum*, where Antony ſhewed them his robe ſtained with blood, and pierced on all ſides with ſwords, they broke out into a tranſport of rage. They ſought all over the *forum* for the actors in that tragedy, and ran with lighted torches to burn their houſes. By their precaution they eſcaped this danger;

* Cicero was then ſixty-two.

danger; but as they ſaw others, no leſs conſiderable, impending, they left the city.

Antony, elated with this advantage, became formidable to all the oppoſite party, who ſuppoſed that he would aim at nothing leſs than abſolute power; but Cicero had particular reaſon to dread him. For being ſenſible that Cicero's weight in the adminiſtration was eſtabliſhed again, and of his ſtrong attachment to Brutus, Antony could hardly bear his preſence. Beſides, there had long been ſome jealouſy and diſlike between them on account of the diſſimilarity of their lives. Cicero fearing the event, was inclined to go with Dolabella into Syria, as his lieutenant. But afterwards Hirtius and Panſa, who were to be conſuls after Antony, perſons of great merit, and good friends to Cicero, deſired him not to leave them; and promiſed, with his aſſiſtance, to deſtroy Antony. Cicero, without depending much on either ſcheme, gave up that of going with Dolabella, and agreed with the conſuls elect to paſs the ſummer in Athens, and return when they entered upon their office.

Accordingly he embarked for that place without taking any principal Roman along with him. But his voyage being accidentally retarded, news was brought from Rome, (for he did not chuſe to be without news) that there was a wonderful change in Antony; that he took all his ſteps agreeably to the ſenſe of the ſenate; and that nothing but his preſence was wanting to bring matters to the beſt eſtabliſhment. He therefore condemned his exceſſive caution, and returned to Rome.

His firſt hopes were not diſappointed. Such crowds came out to meet him, that almoſt a whole day was ſpent at the gates, and on his way home, in compliments and congratulations. Next day Antony convened the ſenate, and ſent for Cicero; but he kept his bed, pretending that he was indiſpoſed with his journey. In reality, he ſeems to have been

afraid of aſſaſſination, in conſequence of ſome hints he received by the way. Antony was extremely incenſed at theſe ſuggeſtions, and ordered a party of ſoldiers either to bring him, or to burn his houſe in caſe of refuſal. However, at the requeſt of numbers who interpoſed, he revoked that order, and bade them only bring a pledge from his houſe.

After this, when they happened to meet, they paſſed each other in ſilence, and lived in mutual diſtruſt. Meantime, young Caeſar, arriving from Apollonia, put in his claim as heir to his uncle, and ſued Antony for twenty-five million *drachmas* *, which he detained of the eſtate.

Hereupon, Philip, who had married the mother, and Marcellus, who was huſband to the ſiſter of Octavius, brought him to Cicero. It was agreed between them, that Cicero ſhould aſſiſt Caeſar with his eloquence and intereſt, both with the ſenate and the people; and that Caeſar ſhould give Cicero all the protection that his wealth and military influence could afford. For the young man had already collected a conſiderable number of the Veterans who had ſerved under his uncle.

Cicero received the offer of his friendſhip with pleaſure. For while Pompey and Caeſar were living, Cicero, it ſeems, had a dream, in which he thought he called ſome boys, the ſons of ſenators, up to the capitol, becauſe Jupiter deſigned to pitch upon one of them for ſovereign of Rome. The citizens ran with all the eagerneſs of expectation, and placed themſelves about the temple; and the boys in their *praetextae* ſate ſilent. The doors ſuddenly opening, the boys roſe up one by one, and, in their order, paſſed round the god, who reviewed them all, and ſent them away diſappointed. But when Octavius approached, he ſtretched out his hand to him, and ſaid, "Romans, this is the perſon who, when he "comes

* Plutarch is miſtaken in the ſum. It appears from Paterculus, and others, that it was ſeven times as much.

"comes to be your prince, will put an end to your "civil wars." This viſion, they tell us, made ſuch an impreſſion upon Cicero, that he perfectly retained the figure and countenance of the boy, though he did not yet know him. Next day, he went down to the *Campus Martius*, when the boys were juſt returning from their exerciſes; and the firſt who ſtruck his eye, was the lad in the very form that he had ſeen in his dream. Aſtoniſhed at the diſcovery, Cicero aſked him who were his parents; and he proved to be the ſon of Octavius, a perſon not much diſtinguiſhed in life, and of Attica, ſiſter to Caeſar. As he was ſo near a relation, and Caeſar had no children of his own, he adopted him, and, by will, left him his eſtate. Cicero, after this dream, whenever he met young Octavius, is ſaid to have treated him with particular regard; and he received thoſe marks of his friendſhip with great ſatisfaction. Beſides, he happened to be born the year that Cicero was conſul.

Theſe were pretended to be the cauſes of their preſent connection. But the leading motive with Cicero was his hatred of Antony; and the next his natural avidity of glory. For he hoped to throw the weight of Octavius into the ſcale of the commonwealth; and the latter behaved to him with ſuch a * puerile deference, that he even called him father. Hence, Brutus, in his letters to Atticus, expreſſed his indignation againſt Cicero, and ſaid, "That, as "through fear of Antony, he paid his court to "young Caeſar, it was plain that he took not his "meaſures for the liberty of his country, but only "to obtain a gentle maſter for himſelf." Nevertheleſs, Brutus finding the ſon of Cicero at Athens,

* The Greek is προς το μειρακιον, which is uſed adverbially for *pueriliter*. Thus Sophocles uſes προς καιρον adverbially for *tempeſtive*, and προς αφθονιαν for *abundè*. The commentators not adverting to this, have declared the text corrupt, and puzzled themſelves needleſsly to reſtore it.

where he was ſtudying under the philoſophers, gave him a command, and employed him upon many ſervices which proved ſucceſsful.

Cicero's power at this time was at its greateſt height; he carried every point that he deſired; inſomuch that he expelled Antony, and raiſed ſuch a ſpirit againſt him, that the conſuls Hirtius and Panſa, were ſent to give him battle; and Cicero likewiſe prevailed upon the ſenate to grant Caeſar the *faſces*, with the dignity of praetor, as one that was fighting for his country.

Antony, indeed, was beaten; but both the conſuls falling in the action, their troops ranged themſelves under the banners of Caeſar. The ſenate now fearing the views of a young man, who was ſo much favoured by fortune, endeavoured by honours and gifts to draw his forces from him, and to diminiſh his power. They alledged, that, as Antony was put to flight, there was no need to keep ſuch an army on foot. Caeſar, alarmed at theſe vigorous meaſures, privately ſent ſome friends to intreat and perſuade Cicero to procure the conſulſhip for them both; promiſing, at the ſame time, that he ſhould direct all affairs, according to his better judgment, and find him perfectly tractable, who was but a youth, and had no ambition for any thing but the title and the honour. Caeſar himſelf acknowledged afterwards, that, in his apprehenſions of being entirely ruined and deſerted, he ſeaſonably availed himſelf of Cicero's ambition, perſuaded him to ſtand for the conſulſhip, and undertook to ſupport his application with his whole intereſt.

In this caſe particularly, Cicero, old as he was, ſuffered himſelf to be impoſed upon by this young man, ſollicited the people for him, and brought the ſenate into his intereſt. His friends blamed him for it at the time; and it was not long before he was ſenſible that he had ruined himſelf, and given up the liberties of his country. For Caeſar was no ſooner ſtrengthened with the conſular authority, than he gave

gave up Cicero *; and reconciling himſelf to Antony and Lepidus, he united his power with theirs, and divided the empire among them, as if it had been a private eſtate. At the ſame time, they proſcribed above two hundred perſons whom they had pitched upon for a ſacrifice. The greateſt difficulty and diſpute was about the proſcription of Cicero. For Antony would come to no terms, till he was firſt taken off. Lepidus agreed with Antony in this preliminary; but Gaeſar oppoſed them both. They had a private congreſs for theſe purpoſes near the city of Bononia, which laſted three days. The place where they met, was over againſt their camps, a little iſland in the river. Caeſar is ſaid to have contended for Cicero the two firſt days; but the third he gave him up. The ſacrifices on each part were theſe: Caeſar was to abandon Cicero to his fate; Lepidus, his brother Paulus; and Antony, Lucius Caeſar, his uncle, by the mother's ſide. Thus rage and rancour entirely ſtifled in them all ſentiments of humanity; or, more properly ſpeaking, they ſhewed that no beaſt is more ſavage than man, when he is poſſeſſed of power equal to his paſſion.

While his enemies were thus employed, Cicero was at his Tuſculan *villa*, and his brother Quintus with him. When they were informed of the proſcription, they determined to remove to Aſtyra, a country-houſe of Cicero's near the ſea; where they intended to take ſhip, and repair to Brutus in Macedonia. For it was reported, that he was already very powerful in thoſe parts. They were carried in their ſeparate litters, oppreſſed with ſorrow and deſpair; and often joining their litters on the road, they ſtopped to bemoan their mutual misfortunes. Quintus was the more dejected, becauſe he was in want of neceſſaries; for, as he ſaid, he had brought nothing from home with him. Cicero, too, had but a

* Inſtead of taking him for his collegue, he choſe Quintus Pedius.

ſlender proviſion. They concluded, therefore, that it would be beſt for Cicero to haſten his flight, and for Quintus to return to his houſe, and get ſome ſupplies. This reſolution being fixed upon, they embraced each other with every expreſſion of ſorrow, and then parted.

A few days after, Quintus and his ſon were betrayed by his ſervants to the aſſaſſins who came in queſt of them, and loſt their lives. As for Cicero, he was carried to Aſtyra; where finding a veſſel, he immediately went on board, and coaſted along to Circaeum, with a favourable wind. The pilots were preparing immediately to ſail from thence; but, whether it was, that he feared the ſea, or had not yet given up all his hopes in Caeſar, he diſembarked, and travelled a hundred furlongs on foot, as if Rome had been the place of his deſtination. Repenting, however, afterwards, he left that road, and made again for the ſea. He paſſed the night in the moſt perplexing and horrid thoughts; inſomuch, that he was ſometimes inclined to go privately into Caeſar's houſe, and ſtab himſelf upon the altar of his domeſtic gods, to bring the divine vengeance upon his betrayer. But he was deterred from this by the fear of torture. Other alternatives, equally diſtreſsful, preſented themſelves. At laſt, he put himſelf in the hands of his ſervants, and ordered them to carry him by ſea to Cajeta *, where he had a delightful retreat in the ſummer, when the Eteſian † winds ſet in. There was a temple of Apollo on that coaſt, from which a flight of crows came, with great noiſe, towards Cicero's veſſel, as it was making land. They perched on both ſides the ſail-yard, where ſome ſate croaking, and others pecking the ends of the ropes.

* In the printed text it is κατιτας; but a manuſcript gives us καιαττην. According to Appian, Cicero was killed near Capua; but Valerius Maximus ſays, the ſcene of that tragedy was at Cajeta.

† The north-weſt winds.

ropes. All looked upon this as an ill omen; yet Cicero went on ſhore, and, entering his houſe, lay down to repoſe himſelf. In the mean time, a number of the crows ſettled in the chamber-window, and croaked in the moſt doleful manner. One of them even entered it, and alighting on the bed, attempted, with it's beak, to draw off the clothes with which he had covered his face. On ſight of this, the ſervants began to reproach themſelves. "Shall we," ſaid they, "remain to be ſpectators of our maſter's "murder? Shall we not protect him, ſo innocent "and ſo great a ſufferer as he is, when the brute "creatures give him marks of their care and atten-"tion?" Then partly by intreaty, partly by force, they got him into his litter, and carried him towards the ſea.

Meantime the aſſaſſins came up. They were commanded by Herennius, a centurion, and Popilius, a tribune, whom Cicero had formerly defended when under a proſecution for parricide. The doors of the houſe being made faſt, they broke them open. Still Cicero did not appear, and the ſervants who were left behind, ſaid they knew nothing of him. But a young man, named Philologus, his brother Quintus's freedman, whom Cicero had inſtructed in the liberal arts and ſciences, informed the tribune, that they were carrying the litter through deep ſhades to the ſea-ſide. The tribune, taking a few ſoldiers with him, ran to the end of the walk where he was to come out. But Cicero perceiving that Herennius was haſtening after him, ordered his ſervants to ſet the litter down; and putting his left hand to his chin, as it was his cuſtom to do, he looked ſtedfaſtly upon his murderers. Such an appearance of miſery in his face, overgrown with hair, and waſted with anxiety, ſo much affected the attendants of Herennius, that they covered their faces during the melancholy ſcene. That officer diſpatched him, while he ſtretched his neck out of the litter to

receive the blow. Thus fell Cicero, in the ſixty-fourth year of his age. Herennius cut off his head, and, by Antony's command, his hands too, with which he had written the *Philippics*. Such was the title he gave his orations againſt Antony, and they retain it to this day.

When theſe parts of Cicero's body were brought to Rome, Antony happened to be holding an aſſembly for the election of magiſtrates. He no ſooner beheld them, than he cried out, "Now let there "be an end of all proſcriptions." He ordered the head and hands to be faſtened up over the *roſtra*, a dreadful ſpectacle to the Roman people, who thought they did not ſo much ſee the face of Cicero, as a picture of Antony's ſoul. Yet he did one act of juſtice on this occaſion, which was the delivering up Philologus to Pomponia the wife of Quintus. When ſhe was miſtreſs of his fate, beſide other horrid puniſhments, ſhe made him cut off his own fleſh by piece-meal, and roaſt and eat it. This is the account ſome hiſtorians give us; but Tyro, Cicero's freedman, makes no mention of the treachery of Philologus.

I am informed, that a long time after, Caeſar going to ſee one of his grandſons, found him with a book of Cicero's in his hands. The boy, alarmed at the accident, endeavoured to hide the book under his robe; which Caeſar perceived, and took it from him; and after having run moſt of it over as he ſtood, he returned it, and ſaid, "My dear child, "this was an eloquent man, and a lover of his "country."

Being conſul at the time when he conquered Antony, he took the ſon of Cicero for his collegue; under whoſe auſpices, the ſenate took down the ſtatues of Antony, defaced all the monuments of his honour, and decreed, that, for the future, none of the family ſhould bear the name of Marcus. Thus the divine juſtice reſerved the completion of Antony's puniſhment for the houſe of Cicero.

DE-

DEMOSTHENES and CICERO

COMPARED.

THESE are the moſt memorable circumſtances in the lives of Demoſthenes and Cicero, that could be collected from the hiſtorians which have come to our knowledge. Though I ſhall not pretend to compare their talents for ſpeaking; yet this, I think, I ought to obſerve, that Demoſthenes, by the exertion of all his powers, both natural and acquired, upon that object only, came to exceed in energy and ſtrength, the moſt celebrated pleaders of his time; in grandeur and magnificence of ſtyle, all that were eminent for the ſublime of declamation; and in accuracy and art, the moſt able profeſſors of rhetoric. Cicero's ſtudies were more general; and, in his treaſures of knowledge, he had a great variety. He has left us a number of philoſophical tracts, which he compoſed upon the principles of the academy. And we ſee ſomething of an oſtentation of learning in the very orations which he wrote for the *forum* and the bar.

Their different tempers are diſcernible in their way of writing. That of Demoſthenes, without any embelliſhments of wit and humour, is always grave and ſerious. Nor does it ſmell of the lamp, as Pytheas tauntingly ſaid, but of the water-drinker, of the man of thought, of one who was characterized by the auſterities of life. But Cicero, who loved to indulge his vein of pleaſantry, ſo much affected the

wit, that he ſometimes ſunk into the buffoon; and by affecting gaiety in the moſt ſerious things to ſerve his client, he has offended againſt the rules of propriety and decorum. Thus, in his oration for Caelius, he ſays, "Where is the abſurdity, if a man, with "an affluent fortune at command, ſhall indulge "himſelf in pleaſure? It would be madneſs not to "enjoy what is in his power; particularly, when "ſome of the greateſt philoſophers place man's "chief good in pleaſure *?"

When Cato impeached Murena, Cicero, who was then conſul, undertook his defence; and, in his pleading, took occaſion to ridicule ſeveral paradoxes of the ſtoics, becauſe Cato was of that ſect. He ſucceeded ſo far as to raiſe a laugh in the aſſembly; and even among the judges. Upon which, Cato ſmiled, and ſaid to thoſe who ſate by him, "What "a pleaſant conſul we have!" Cicero, indeed, was naturally facetious; and he not only loved his jeſt, but his countenance was gay and ſmiling. Whereas Demoſthenes had a care and thoughtfulneſs in his aſpect, which he ſeldom or never put off. Hence, his enemies, as he confeſſes, called him a moroſe ill-natured man.

It appears alſo from their writings, that Demoſthenes, when he touches upon his own praiſe, does it with an inoffenſive delicacy. Indeed, he never gives into it at all, but when he has ſome great point in view; and on all other occaſions is extremely modeſt. But Cicero, in his orations, ſpeaks in ſuch high terms of himſelf, that it is plain he had a moſt intemperate vanity. Thus he cries out:

Let arms revere the robe, the warrior's laurel
Yield to the palm of eloquence.

At

* Plutarch has not quoted this paſſage with accuracy. Cicero apologizes for the exceſſes of youth; but does not defend or approve the purſuit of pleaſure.

At length he came to commend not only his own actions and operations in the commonwealth, but his orations too, as well thoſe which he had only pronounced, as thoſe which he had committed to writing; as if, with a juvenile vanity, he were vying with the rhetoricians Iſocrates and Anaximenes, inſtead of being inſpired with the great ambition of guiding the Roman people,

Fierce in the field, and dreadful to the foe.

It is neceſſary, indeed, for a ſtateſman to have the advantage of eloquence; but it is mean and illiberal to reſt in ſuch a qualification, or to hunt after praiſe in that quarter. In this reſpect Demoſthenes behaved with more dignity, with a ſuperior elevation of ſoul. He ſaid, "His ability to explain himſelf was a mere acquiſition; and not ſo perfect, but that it required great candour and indulgence in the audience." He thought it muſt be, as indeed it is, only a low and little mind, that can value itſelf upon ſuch attainments.

They both, undoubtedly, had political abilities, as well as powers to perſuade. They had them in ſuch a degree, that men who had armies at their devotion, ſtood in need of their ſupport. Thus Chares, Diopithes, and Leoſthenes, availed themſelves of Demoſthenes; Pompey, and young Caeſar, of Cicero; as Caeſar himſelf acknowledges in his commentaries addreſſed to Agrippa and Maecenas.

It is an obſervation no leſs juſt than common, that nothing makes ſo thorough a trial of a man's diſpoſition, as power and authority. For they awake every paſſion, and diſcover every latent vice. Demoſthenes never had an opportunity for a trial of this kind. He never obtained any eminent charge; nor did he lead thoſe armies againſt Philip, which his eloquence had raiſed. But Cicero went quaeſtor into Sicily, and pro-conſul into Cilicia and Cappadocia; at a time, too, when avarice reigned without controul; when the governors of provinces, think-

ing it beneath them to take a clandeſtine advantage, fell to open plunder; when to take another's property was thought no great crime, and he who took moderately paſſed for a man of character. Yet, at ſuch a time as this, Cicero gave many proofs of his contempt of money; many of his humanity and goodneſs. At Rome, with the title only of conſul, he had an abſolute and dictatorial power againſt Catiline and his accomplices. On which occaſion he verified the prediction of Plato, "That every ſtate will be "delivered from its calamities, when, by the favour "of fortune, great power unites with wiſdom and "juſtice in one perſon."

It is mentioned to the diſgrace of Demoſthenes, that his eloquence was mercenary; that he privately compoſed orations both for Phormio and Apollodorus, though adverſaries in the ſame cauſe. To which we may add, that he was ſuſpected of receiving money from the king of Perſia, and condemned for taking bribes of Harpalus. Suppoſing ſome of theſe the calumnies of thoſe who wrote againſt him; (and they are not a few) yet it is impoſſible to affirm that he was proof againſt the preſents which were ſent him by princes, as marks of honour and reſpect. This was too much to be expected from a man who veſted his money at intereſt upon ſhips. Cicero, on the other hand, had magnificent preſents ſent him by the Sicilians, when he was Ædile; by the king of Cappadocia, when proconſul; and his friends preſſed him to receive their benefactions, when in exile; yet, as we have already obſerved, he refuſed them all.

The baniſhment of Demoſthenes reflected infamy upon him; for he was convicted of taking bribes; that of Cicero, great honour; becauſe he ſuffered for deſtroying traitors who had vowed the ruin of their country. The former, therefore, departed without exciting pity or regret: for the latter the ſenate changed their habit, continued in mourning, and

and could not be perſuaded to paſs any act, till the people had recalled him. Cicero, indeed, ſpent the time of exile in an inactive manner in Macedonia; but with Demoſthenes it was a buſy period in his political character. Then it was (as we have mentioned above) that he went to the ſeveral cities of Greece, ſtrengthened the common intereſt, and defeated the deſigns of the Macedonian ambaſſadors. In which reſpect he diſcovered a much greater regard for his country, than Themiſtocles and Alcibiades, when under the ſame misfortune. After his return, he purſued his former plan of government, and continued the war with Antipater and the Macedonians. Whereas Laelius reproached Cicero in full ſenate, with ſitting ſilent, when Caeſar, who was not yet come to years of maturity, applied for the conſulſhip contrary to law. And Brutus, in one of his letters, charged him with having reared a greater and more "inſupportable tyranny, than that which they had "deſtroyed."

As to the manner of their death; we cannot think of Cicero's, without a contemptuous kind of pity. How deplorable to ſee an old man, for want of proper reſolution, ſuffering himſelf to be carried about by his ſervants, endeavouring to hide himſelf from death, which was a meſſenger that nature would ſoon have ſent him, and overtaken notwithſtanding, and ſlaughtered by his enemies! The other, though he did diſcover ſome fear, by taking ſanctuary, is, nevertheleſs, to be admired for the proviſion he had made of poiſon, for the care with which he had preſerved it, and his noble manner of uſing it. So that, when Neptune did not afford him an aſylum, he had recourſe to a more inviolable altar, reſcued himſelf from the weapons of the guards, and eluded the cruelty of Antipater.

DEMETRIUS.

DEMETRIUS.

THOSE who firſt thought that the arts might be compared to the ſenſes, in the perception of their reſpective objects, appear to me to have well underſtood the power by which that perception was to be formed, the power of diſtinguiſhing contrary qualities; for this they have in common. But in the mode of diſtinguiſhing, as well as in the end of what is diſtinguiſhed, they evidently differ. The ſenſes, for inſtance, have no connate power of perceiving a white object more than a black one; what is ſweet, more than what is bitter; or what is ſoft and yielding, more than what is hard and ſolid. Their office is to receive impreſſions from ſuch objects as ſtrike upon them, and to convey thoſe impreſſions to the mind. But the operation of the arts is more rational. They are not, like the ſenſes, paſſive in their perceptions. They chuſe or reject what is proper or improper. What is good they attend to primarily and intentionally; and what is evil, only accidentally, in order to avoid it. Thus, the art of medicine, conſiders the nature of diſeaſes; and muſic that of diſcordant ſounds, in order to produce their contraries. And the moſt excellent of all arts, temperance, juſtice, and prudence, teach us to judge not only of what is honourable, juſt, and uſeful, but alſo of what is pernicious, diſgraceful, and unjuſt. Theſe arts beſtow no praiſe on that innocence which boaſts of an entire ignorance of vice; in their reckoning, it is rather an abſurd ſimplicity

to be ignorant of thoſe things which every man that is diſpoſed to live virtuouſly, ſhould make it his particular care to know. Accordingly the ancient Spartans, at their feaſts, uſed to compel the *helots* to drink an exceſſive quantity of wine, and then bring them into the public halls where they dined, to ſhew the young men what drunkenneſs was.

We do not, indeed, think it agreeable, either to humanity or good policy, to corrupt ſome of the ſpecies, in order to correct others. Yet, perhaps, it may not be amiſs to inſert among the reſt of the lives, a few examples of thoſe who have abuſed their power to the purpoſes of licentiouſneſs, and whoſe elevation has only made their vices greater and more conſpicuous. Not that we adduce them to give pleaſure, or to adorn our paintings with the graces of variety; but we do it from the ſame motive with Iſmenias the Theban muſician, who preſented his ſcholars both with good and bad performers on the flute; and uſed to ſay, "Thus you muſt play," and, "Thus "you muſt not play." And Antigenidas obſerved, "That young men would hear able performers with "much greater pleaſure, after they had heard bad "ones." In like manner, according to my opinion, we ſhall behold and imitate the virtuous with greater attention, if we be not entirely unacquainted with the characters of the vicious and the infamous.

In this book, therefore, we ſhall give the lives of Demetrius, ſurnamed *Poliorcetes*, and of Antony the *triumvir*, men who have moſt remarkably verified that obſervation of Plato, "That great parts pro-"duce great vices, as well as virtues." They were equally addicted to wine and women; both excellent ſoldiers, and perſons of great munificence; but, at the ſame time, prodigal and inſolent. There was the ſame reſemblance in their fortune. For, in the courſe of their lives, they met both with great ſucceſs, and great diſappointments; now, extending their conqueſts with the utmoſt rapidity, and now

loſing

loſing all; now falling beyond all expectation; and now recovering themſelves when there was as little proſpect of ſuch a change. This ſimilarity there was in their lives; and in the concluding ſcene there was not much difference; for the one was taken by his enemies, and died in captivity, and the other was near ſharing the ſame fate.

Antigonus having two ſons by Stratonice, the daughter of Corraeus, called the one, after his brother, Demetrius, and the other, after his father, Philip. So moſt hiſtorians ſay. But ſome affirm that Demetrius was not the ſon of Antigonus, but his nephew; and that his father dying and leaving him an infant, and his mother ſoon after marrying Antigonus, he was, on that account, conſidered as his ſon. Philip, who was not many years younger than Demetrius, died at an early period. Demetrius, though tall, was not equal in ſize to his father Antigonus. But his beauty and his mien were ſo inimitable, that no ſtatuary or painter could hit off a likeneſs. His countenance had a mixture of grace and dignity; and was at once amiable and aweful; and the unſubdued and eager air of youth was blended with the majeſty of the hero and the king. There was the ſame happy mixture in his behaviour, which inſpired, at the ſame time, both pleaſure and awe. In his hours of leiſure, a moſt agreeable companion; in his table, and every ſpecies of entertainment, of all princes the moſt delicate; and yet, when buſineſs called, nothing could equal his activity, his diligence, and diſpatch. In which reſpect he imitated Bacchus moſt of all the gods; ſince he was not only terrible in war, but knew how to terminate war with peace, and turn with the happieſt addreſs to the joys and pleaſures which that inſpires.

His affection for his father was remarkably great; and in the reſpect he paid his mother, his love for his other parent was very diſcernible. His duty was genuine, and not in the leaſt influenced by the con-

ſiderations of high ſtation or power. Demetrius happening to come from hunting, when his father was giving audience to ſome ambaſſadors, went up and ſaluted him, and then ſat down by him with his javelins in his hand. After they had received their anſwer, and were going away, Antigonus called out to them, and ſaid, "You may mention, too, the "happy terms upon which I am with my ſon." By which he gave them to underſtand, that the harmony and confidence in which they lived, added ſtrength to the kingdom, and ſecurity to his power. So incapable is regal authority of admitting a partner, ſo liable to jealouſy and hatred, that the greateſt and oldeſt of Alexander's ſucceſſors, rejoiced that he had no occaſion to fear his own ſon, but could freely let him approach him with his weapons in his hand. Indeed, we may venture to ſay, that this family alone, in the courſe of many ſucceſſions, was free from theſe evils. Of all the deſcendants of Antigonus, Philip was the only prince who put his ſon to death; whereas, in the families of other kings, nothing is more common than the murders of ſons, mothers, and wives. As for the killing of brothers, like a *poſtulatum* in geometry, it was conſidered as indiſputably neceſſary to the ſafety of the reigning prince.

That Demetrius was originally well diſpoſed by nature to the offices of humanity and friendſhip, the following is a proof. Mithridates, the ſon of Ariobarzanes, was of the ſame age, and his conſtant companion. He was likewiſe one of the attendants of Antigonus, and bore an unblemiſhed character. Yet Antigonus conceived ſome ſuſpicion of him from a dream. He thought he entered a large and beautiful field, and ſowed it with filings of gold. This produced a crop of the ſame precious metal; but coming a little after to viſit it, he found it was cut, and nothing left but the ſtalks. As he was in great diſtreſs about his loſs, he heard ſome people ſay, that Mith-

Mithridates had reaped the golden harveſt, and was gone with it towards the Euxine ſea.

Diſturbed at the dream, he communicated it to his ſon, having firſt made him ſwear to keep it ſecret, and, at the ſame time, informed him of his abſolute determination to deſtroy Mithridates. Demetrius was exceedingly concerned at the affair; but though his friend waited on him as uſual, that they might purſue their diverſions together, he durſt not ſpeak to him on the ſubject, becauſe of his oath. By degrees, however, he drew him aſide from the reſt of his companions; and when they were alone, he wrote on the ground, with the bottom of his ſpear, "Fly, Mithridates." The young man underſtanding his danger, fled that night into Cappadocia; and fate ſoon accompliſhed the dream of Antigonus. For Mithridates conquered a rich and extenſive country, and founded the family of the Pontic kings, which continued through eight ſucceſſions, and was at laſt deſtroyed by the Romans. This is a ſufficient evidence that Demetrius was naturally well inclined to juſtice and humanity.

But as, according to Empedocles, love and hatred are the ſources of perpetual wars between the elements, particularly ſuch as touch or approach each other; ſo among the ſucceſſors of Alexander there were continual wars; and the contentions were always the moſt violent when inflamed by the oppoſition of intereſt, or vicinity of place. This was the caſe of Antigonus and Ptolemy. Antigonus, while he reſided in Phrygia, received information that Ptolemy was gone from Cyprus into Syria, where he was ravaging the country, and reducing the cities either by ſollicitation or force. Upon this, he ſent his ſon Demetrius againſt him, though he was only twenty two years of age; and in this firſt command had the greateſt and moſt difficult affairs to manage. But a young and unexperienced man was unequally matched with a general from the ſchool of Alexander,

der, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in many important combats under that prince. Accordingly, he was defeated near Gaza; five thouſand of his men were killed, and eight thouſand taken priſoners. He loſt alſo his tents, his military cheſt, and his whole equipage. But Ptolemy ſent them back to him, together with his friends; adding this generous and obliging meſſage, "That they ought only to "contend for glory and empire." When Demetrius received it, he begged of the gods, "That he "might not long be Ptolemy's debtor, but ſoon "have it in his power to return the favour." Nor was he diſconcerted, as moſt young men would be, with ſuch a miſcarriage in his firſt eſſay. On the contrary, like a complete general, accuſtomed to the viciſſitudes of fortune, he employed himſelf in making new levies and providing arms; he kept the cities to their duty, and exerciſed the troops he had raiſed.

As ſoon as Antigonus was appriſed how the battle went, he ſaid, "Ptolemy has, indeed, beaten boys, "but he ſhall ſoon have to do with men." However, as he did not chuſe to repreſs the ſpirit of his ſon, on his requeſt, he gave him permiſſion to try his fortune again by himſelf. Not long after this, Cilles, Ptolemy's general, undertook to drive Demetrius entirely out of Syria; for which purpoſe he brought with him a numerous army, though he held him in contempt, on account of his late defeat. But Demetrius, by a ſudden attack, ſtruck his adverſaries with ſuch a panic, that both the camp and the general fell into his hands, together with very conſiderable treaſures. Yet he did not conſider the gain, but the ability to give: nor ſo much valued the glory and riches which this advantage brought him, as its enabling him to requite the generoſity of Ptolemy. He was not, however, for proceeding upon his own judgment; he conſulted his father; and, on his free permiſſion to act as he thought proper, loaded Cilles

and his friends with his favours, and ſent them back to their maſter. By this turn of affairs, Ptolemy loſt his footing in Syria; and Antigonus marched down from Celaenae, rejoicing in his ſon's ſucceſs, and impatient to embrace him.

Demetrius, after this, being ſent to ſubdue the Nabathaean Arabs, found himſelf in great danger, by falling into a deſart country, which afforded no water. But the barbarians, aſtoniſhed at his uncommon intrepidity, did not venture to attack him; and he retired with a conſiderable booty, amongſt which were ſeven hundred camels.

Antigonus had formerly taken Babylon from Seleucus; but he had recovered it by his own arms; and was now marching with his main army, to reduce the nations which bordered upon India, and the provinces about Mount Caucaſus. Meantime Demetrius, hoping to find Meſopotamia unguarded, ſuddenly paſſed the Euphrates, and fell upon Babylon. There were two ſtrong caſtles in that city; but by this manoeuvre in the abſence of Seleucus, he ſeized one of them, diſlodged the garriſon, and placed there ſeven thouſand of his own men. After this, he ordered the reſt of his ſoldiers to plunder the country for their own uſe, and then returned to the ſea-coaſt. By theſe proceedings he left Seleucus better eſtabliſhed in his dominions than ever; for his laying waſte the country, ſeemed, as if he had no farther claim to it.

In his return through Syria, he was informed that Ptolemy was beſieging Halicarnaſſus; upon which he haſtened to its relief, and obliged him to retire. As this ambition to ſuccour the diſtreſſed, gained Antigonus and Demetrius great reputation, they conceived a ſtrong deſire to reſcue all Greece from the ſlavery it was held in by Caſſander and Ptolemy. No prince ever engaged in a more juſt and honourable war. For they employed the wealth which they had gained by the conqueſt of the barbarians, for the

the advantage of the Greeks; ſolely with a view to the honour that ſuch an enterprize promiſed.

When they had reſolved to begin their operations with Athens, one of his friends adviſed Antigonus, if he took the city, to keep it, as the key of Greece; but that prince would not liſten to him. He ſaid, "The beſt and ſecureſt of all keys was the friend-"ſhip of the people; and that Athens was the "watch-tower of the world, from whence the torch "of his glory would blaze over the earth."

In conſequence of theſe reſolutions, Demetrius ſailed to Athens with five thouſand talents of ſilver and a fleet of two hundred and fifty ſhips. Demetrius, the Phalerean, governed the city for Caſſander, and had a good garriſon in the fort of Munychia. His adverſary, who managed the affair both with prudence and good fortune, made his appearance before the Piraeus on the twenty-fifth of May *. The town had no information of his approach; and when they ſaw his fleet coming in, they concluded that it belonged to Ptolemy, and prepared to receive it as ſuch. But at laſt the officers who commanded in the city, being undeceived, ran to oppoſe it. All the tumult and confuſion followed, which was natural when an enemy came unexpected, and was already landing. For Demetrius finding the mouth of the harbour open, ran in with eaſe; and the people could plainly diſtinguiſh him on the deck of his ſhip, whence he made ſigns to them to compoſe themſelves and keep ſilence. They complied with his demand; and a herald was ordered to proclaim, "That his father Antigonus, in a happy hour, he "hoped, for Athens, had ſent him to reinſtate them "in their liberties, by expelling the garriſon, and to "reſtore their laws and ancient form of govern-"ment."

Upon this proclamation, the people threw down their arms, and receiving the propoſal with loud acclamations,

* *Thargelion.*

clamations, deſired Demetrius to land, and called him their benefactor and deliverer. Demetrius, the Phalerean, and his partizans, thought it neceſſary to receive a man who came with ſuch a ſuperior force, though he ſhould perform none of his promiſes, and accordingly ſent deputies to make their ſubmiſſion. Demetrius received them in an obliging manner, and ſent back with them Ariſtodemus the Mileſian, a friend of his father's. At the ſame time, he was not unmindful of Demetrius the Phalerean, who, in this revolution, was more afraid of the citizens than of the enemy; but out of regard to his character and virtue, ſent him with a ſtrong convoy to Thebes, agreeably to his requeſt. He likewiſe aſſured the Athenians, that however deſirous he might be to ſee their city, he would deny himſelf that pleaſure till he had ſet it entirely free, by expelling the garriſon. He therefore ſurrounded the fortreſs of Munychia with a ditch and rampart, to cut off its communication with the reſt of the city, and then ſailed to Megara, where Caſſander had another garriſon.

On his arrival, he was informed, that Crateſipolis, the wife of Alexander the ſon of Polyperchon, a celebrated beauty, was at Patrae, and had a deſire to ſee him. In conſequence of which, he left his forces in the territory of Megara, and with a few light horſe took the road to Patrae. When he was near the place, he drew off from his men, and pitched his tent apart, that Crateſipolis might not be perceived when ſhe came to pay her viſit. But a party of the enemy getting intelligence of this, fell ſuddenly upon him. In his alarm, he had only time to throw over him a mean cloak; and, in that diſguiſe, ſaved himſelf by flight. So near an infamous captivity had his intemperate love of beauty brought him. As for his tent, the enemy took it with all the riches it contained.

After

After Megara was taken, the ſoldiers prepared to plunder it; but the Athenians interceded ſtrongly for that people, and prevailed. Demetrius was ſatisfied with expelling the garriſon, and declared the city free. Amidſt theſe tranſactions, he bethought himſelf of Stilpo, a philoſopher of great reputation, who ſought only the retirement and tranquility of a ſtudious life. He ſent for him, and aſked him, "Whether they had taken any thing from him." "No," ſaid Stilpo, "I found none that wanted to "ſteal any knowledge." The ſoldiers, however, had clandeſtinely carried off almoſt all the ſlaves. Therefore, when Demetrius paid his reſpects to him again, on leaving the place, and ſaid, "Stilpo, I "leave you entirely free;" "True," anſwered Stilpo, "for you have not left a ſlave among us."

Demetrius then returned to the ſiege of Munychia, diſlodged the garriſon, and demoliſhed the fortreſs. After which the Athenians preſſed him to enter the city, and he complied. Having aſſembled the people, he re-eſtabliſhed the commonwealth in its ancient form; and, moreover, promiſed them, in the name of his father, a hundred and fifty thouſand meaſures * of wheat, and timber enough to build a hundred galleys. Thus they recovered the democracy fifteen years after it was diſſolved. During the interval, after the Lamian war, and the battle of Cranon, the government was called an oligarchy, but, in fact, was monarchical; for the power of Demetrius, the Phalarean, met with no controul.

Their deliverer appeared glorious in his ſervices to Athens; but they rendered him obnoxious by the extravagant honours they decreed him. For they were the firſt who gave him and his father Antigonus the title of kings, which they had hitherto religiouſly avoided; and which was, indeed, the only thing left the deſcendants of Philip and Alexander,

* *Medimni.*

uninvaded by their generals. In the next place, they alone * honoured them with the appellation of the gods protectors; and, inſtead of denominating the year as formerly, from the *archon*, they aboliſhed his office, created annually in his room a prieſt of thoſe gods protectors, and prefixed his name to all their public acts. They likewiſe ordered that their portraits ſhould be wrought in the holy veil with thoſe of the other gods †. They conſecrated the place where their patron firſt alighted from his chariot, and erected an altar there to DEMETRIUS *Catabates*. They added two to the number of their tribes, and called them *Demetrias* and *Antigonis*; in conſequence of which the ſenate, which before conſiſted of five hundred members, was to conſiſt of ſix hundred; for each tribe ſupplied fifty.

Stratocles, of whoſe inventions theſe wiſe compliments were, thought of a ſtroke ſtill higher. He procured a decree, that thoſe who ſhould be ſent upon public buſineſs from the commonwealth of Athens to Antigonus and Demetrius, ſhould not be called ambaſſadors, but *Theori*, a title which had been appropriated to thoſe who, on the ſolemn feſtivals, carried the cuſtomary ſacrifices to Delphi and Olympia, in the name of the Grecian ſtates. This Stratocles was, in all reſpects, a perſon of the moſt daring effrontery, and the moſt debauched life, inſomuch,

* No other people was found capable of ſuch vile adulation. Their ſervility ſhewed how little they deſerved the liberty that was reſtored them,

† Every fifth year the Athenians celebrated the *Panathenæa*, or feſtival of Minerva, and carried in proceſſion the *Peplum*, or holy veil, in which the defeat of the Titans, and the actions of Minerva, were inwrought. In this veil, too, they placed the figures of thoſe commanders, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their victories; and from thence came the expreſſion, that ſuch a one was worthy of the *Peplum*; meaning, that he was a brave ſoldier. As to the form of the *Peplum*, it was a large robe without ſleeves. It was drawn by land in a machine like a ſhip along the *Ceramicus*, as far as the temple of *Ceres* at *Eleuſis*; from whence it was brought back and conſecrated in the citadel.

much, that he ſeemed to imitate the ancient Cleon in his ſcurrilous and licentious behaviour to the people. He kept a miſtreſs called Phylacium; and one day, when ſhe brought from the market ſome heads for ſupper, he ſaid, "Why, how now! you have provided us juſt ſuch things to eat, as we ſtateſmen uſe for "tennis-balls."

When the Athenians were defeated in the ſea-fight near Amorgas, he arrived at Athens before any account of the misfortune had been received, and paſſing through the Ceramicus with a chaplet on his head, told the people that they were victorious. He then moved that ſacrifices of thankſgiving ſhould be offered, and meat diſtributed among the tribes for a public entertainment. Two days after, the poor remains of the fleet were brought home; and the people, in great anger, calling him to anſwer for the impoſition, he made his appearance in the height of the tumult, with the moſt conſummate aſſurance, and ſaid, "What harm have I done you, in making "you merry for two days?" Such was the impudence of Stratocles.

But there were other extravagancies *hotter than fire itſelf*, as Ariſtophanes expreſſes it. One flatterer outdid even Stratocles in ſervility, by procuring a decree that Demetrius, whenever he viſited Athens, ſhould be received with the ſame honours that were paid to Ceres and Bacchus; and that whoever exceeded the reſt in the ſplendor and magnificence of the reception he gave that prince, ſhould have money out of the treaſury to enable him to ſet up ſome pious memorial of his ſucceſs. Theſe inſtances of adulation concluded with their changing the name of the month *Munychion* to *Demetrion*, with calling the laſt day of every month *Demetrias*; and the *Dionyſia*, or feaſts of Bacchus, *Demetria*.

The gods ſoon ſhewed how much they were offended at theſe things. For the veil in which were wrought the figures of Demetrius and Antigonus,

along with thoſe of Jupiter and Minerva, as they carried it through the *Ceramicus*, was rent aſunder by a ſudden ſtorm of wind. Hemlock grew up in great quantities round the altars of thoſe princes, though it is a plant ſeldom found in that country. On the day when the *Dionyſia* were to be celebrated, they were forced to put a ſtop to the proceſſion by the exceſſive cold which came entirely out of ſeaſon; and there fell ſo ſtrong a hoar-froſt, that it blaſted not only the vines and fig-trees, but great part of the corn in the blade. Hence, Philippides, who was an enemy to Stratocles, thus attacked him in one of his comedies.—"Who was the wicked cauſe of our "vines being blaſted by the froſt, and of the ſacred "veil's being rent aſunder? He who transferred the "honours of the gods to men: 'Tis he, not co-"medy *, that is the ruin of the people." This Philippides enjoyed the friendſhip of Lyſimachus, and the Athenians received many favours from that prince on his account. Nay, whenever Lyſimachus was waited on by this poet, or happened to meet him, he conſidered it as a good omen, and a happy time to enter upon any great buſineſs or important expedition. Beſides, he was a man of excellent character, never importunate, intriguing, or over-officious, like thoſe who are bred in a court. One day Lyſimachus talked to him in the moſt obliging manner, and ſaid, "What is there of mine that you would "ſhare in." "Any thing," ſaid he, "but your ſe-"crets." I have purpoſely contraſted theſe characters, that the difference may be obvious between the comic writer and the demagogue.

What exceeded all the rage of flattery we have mentioned, was the decree propoſed by Dromoclides the Sphettian; according to which, they were to conſult the oracle of Demetrius, as to the manner in which they

* It is probable that Stratocles, and other perſons of his character, inveighed againſt the dramatic writers, on account of the liberties they took with their vices. Though this was after the time that the *middle comedy* prevailed at Athens.

they were to dedicate certain ſhields at Delphi. It was conceived in theſe terms: "In a fortunate hour, be it "decreed by the people, that a citizen of Athens be "appointed to go to the god protector, and, after "due ſacrifices offered, demand of Demetrius, the god "protector, what will be the moſt pious, the moſt "honourable and expeditious method of conſecrat-"ing the intended offerings. And it is hereby "enacted, that the people of Athens will follow "the method dictated by his oracle." By this mockery of incenſe to his vanity, who was ſcarcely in his ſenſes before, they rendered him perfectly inſane.

During his ſtay at Athens, he married Eurydice, a deſcendant of the antient Miltiades, who was the widow of Opheltas king of Cyrene, and had returned to Athens after his death. The Athenians reckoned this a particular favour and honour to their city; though Demetrius made no ſort of difficulty of marrying, and had many wives at the ſame time. Of all his wives, he paid moſt reſpect to Phila, becauſe ſhe was the daughter of Antipater, and had been married to Craterus, who, of all the ſucceſſors of Alexander, was moſt regretted by the Macedonians. Demetrius was very young, when his father perſuaded him to marry her, though ſhe was advanced in life, and on that account unfit for him. As he was diſinclined to the match, Antigonus is ſaid to have repeated to him that verſe of Euripides, with a happy parody:

When Fortune ſpreads her flores, we yield to marriage
Againſt the bent of nature.

Only putting *marriage* inſtead of *bondage*. However, the reſpect which Demetrius paid Phila and his other wives, was not of ſuch a nature, but that he publicly entertained many miſtreſſes, as well ſlaves as free-born women, and was more infamous for his exceſſes of that ſort, than any other prince of his time.

Mean-

Meantime his father called him to take the conduct of the war againſt Ptolemy; and he found it neceſſary to obey him. But as it gave him pain to leave the war he had undertaken, for the liberties of Greece, which was ſo much more advantageous in point of glory, he ſent to Cleonides, who commanded for Ptolemy in Sicyon and Corinth, and offered him a pecuniary conſideration, on condition, that he would ſet thoſe cities free. Cleonides not accepting the propoſal, Demetrius immediately embarked his troops, and ſailed to Cyprus. There he had an engagement with Menelaus, brother to Ptolemy, and defeated him. Ptolemy himſelf ſoon after made his appearance with a great number of land-forces, and a conſiderable fleet. On which occaſion, ſeveral menacing and haughty meſſages paſſed between them. Ptolemy bade Demetrius depart, before he collected all his forces, and trod him under foot; and Demetrius ſaid, he would let Ptolemy go, if he would promiſe to evacuate Sicyon and Corinth.

The approaching battle awaked the attention not only of the parties concerned, but of all other princes; for beſide the uncertainty of the event, ſo much depended upon it, that the conqueror would not be maſter of Cyprus and Syria alone, but ſuperior to all his rivals in power. Ptolemy advanced with a hundred and fifty ſhips, and he had ordered Menelaus, with ſixty more, to come out of the harbour of Salamis, in the heat of the battle, and put the enemy in diſorder, by falling on his rear. Againſt theſe ſixty ſhips, Demetrius appointed a guard of ten, for that number was ſufficient to block up the mouth of the harbour. His land-forces he ranged on the adjoining promontories, and then bore down upon his adverſary with a hundred and eighty ſhips. This he did with ſo much impetuoſity, that Ptolemy could not ſtand the ſhock, but was defeated, and fled with eight ſhips only, which were all that he ſaved. For ſeventy were taken, with their crews, and the reſt

were ſunk in the engagement. His numerous train, his ſervants, friends, wives, arms, money, and machines, that were ſtationed near the fleet in tranſports, all fell into the hands of Demetrius, and he carried them to his camp.

Among theſe was the celebrated Lamia, who at firſt was only taken notice of for her performing on the flute, which was by no means contemptible, but afterwards became famous as a courtezan. By this time her beauty was in the wane, yet ſhe captivated Demetrius, though not near her age, and ſo effectually enſlaved him by the peculiar power of her addreſs, that, though other women had a paſſion for him, he could only think of her.

After the ſea-fight, Menelaus made no farther reſiſtance, but ſurrendered Salamis with all the ſhips, and the land-forces which conſiſted of twelve hundred horſe, and twelve thouſand foot.

This victory, ſo great in itſelf, Demetrius rendered ſtill more glorious, by his generoſity and humanity, in giving the enemy's dead an honourable interment, and ſetting the priſoners free. He ſelected twelve hundred complete ſuits of armour from the ſpoils, and beſtowed them on the Athenians. Ariſtodemus, the Mileſian, was the perſon he ſent to his father, with an account of the victory. Of all the courtiers, this man was the boldeſt flatterer; and, on the preſent occaſion, he deſigned to outdo himſelf. When he arrived on the coaſt of Syria from Cyprus, he would not ſuffer the ſhip to make land; but ordering it to anchor at a diſtance, and all the company to remain in it, he took the boat, and went on ſhore alone. He advanced towards the palace of Antigonus, who was watching for the event of this battle, with all the ſollicitude that is natural to a man who has ſo great a concern at ſtake. As ſoon as he was informed that the meſſenger was coming, his anxiety increaſed to ſuch a degree, that he could ſcarce keep within his palace. He ſent his officers

officers and friends, one after another, to Ariſtodemus, to demand what intelligence he brought. But, inſtead of giving any of them an anſwer, he walked on with great ſilence and ſolemnity. The king, by this time much alarmed, and having no longer patience, went to the door to meet him. A great crowd was gathered about Ariſtodemus, and people were running from all quarters to the palace to hear the news. When he was near enough to be heard, he ſtretched out his hand, and cried aloud, "Hail to king Antigonus! We have totally beaten "Ptolemy at ſea; we are maſters of Cyprus, and have "made ſixteen thouſand eight hundred priſoners." Antigonus anſwered, "Hail to you, too, my good "friend! but I will puniſh you for torturing us "ſo long; you ſhall wait long for your reward."

The people now, for the firſt time, proclaimed Antigonus and Demetrius kings. Antigonus had the diadem immediately put on by his friends. He ſent one to Demetrius; and in the letter that accompanied it, addreſſed him under the ſtile of king. The Ægyptians, when they were appriſed of this circumſtance, gave Ptolemy likewiſe the title of king, that they might not appear to be diſpirited with their late defeat. The other ſucceſſors of Alexander caught eagerly at the opportunity to aggrandize themſelves. Lyſimachus took the diadem; and Seleucus did the ſame in his tranſactions with the Greeks. The latter had worn it ſome time, when he gave audience to the barbarians. Caſſander alone, while others wrote to him, and ſaluted him as king, prefixed his name to his letters in the ſame manner as formerly.

This title proved not a mere addition to their name and figure. It gave them higher notions. It introduced a pompouſneſs into their manners, and ſelf-importance into their diſcourſe. Juſt as tragedians, when they take the habit of kings, change their gait, their voice, their whole deportment, and manner of addreſs. After this they became more

ſevere in their judicial capacity; for they laid aſide that diſſimulation with which they had concealed their power, and which had made them much milder and more favourable to their ſubjects. So much could one word of a flatterer do! Such a change did it effect in the whole face of the world!

Antigonus, elated with his ſon's atchievements at Cyprus, immediately marched againſt Ptolemy; commanding his land-forces in perſon, while Demetrius, with a powerful fleet, attended him along the coaſt. One of Antigonus's friends, named Medius, had the event of this expedition communicated to him in a dream. He thought that Antigonus and his whole army were running a race. At firſt he ſeemed to run with great ſwiftneſs and force; but afterwards his ſtrength gradually abated; and, on turning, he became very weak, and drew his breath with ſuch pain, that he could ſcarce recover himſelf. Accordingly Antigonus met with many difficulties at land, and Demetrius encountered ſuch a ſtorm at ſea, that he was in danger of being driven upon an impracticable ſhore. In this ſtorm he loſt many of his ſhips, and returned without effecting any thing.

Antigonus was now little ſhort of eighty; and his great ſize and weight diſqualified him for war, ſtill more than his age. He therefore left the military department to his ſon, who by his good fortune as well as ability, managed it in the happieſt manner. Nor was Antigonus hurt by his ſon's debaucheries, his expenſive appearance, or his long carouſals. For theſe were the things in which Demetrius employed himſelf in time of peace with the utmoſt licentiouſneſs and moſt unbounded avidity. But in war, no man, however naturally temperate, exceeded him in ſobriety.

When the power that Lamia had over him was evident to all the world, Demetrius came after ſome expedition or other to ſalute his father, and he kiſſed him ſo cordially, that he laughed and ſaid, "Surely, "my ſon, you think you are kiſſing Lamia." Once when

when he had been ſpending many days with his friends over the bottle, he excuſed himſelf at his return to court, by ſaying, "that he had been "hindered by a defluxion." "So I heard," ſaid Antigonus, "but whether was the defluxion from "Thaſos or from Chios?" Another time, being informed that he was indiſpoſed, he went to ſee him; and when he came to the door, he met one of his favourites going out. He went in, however, and ſitting down by him, took hold of his hand. Demetrius ſaid his fever had now left him. "I know it," ſaid Antigonus, "for I met it this moment at the "door. With ſuch mildneſs he treated his ſon's faults, out of regard to his excellent performances. It is the cuſtom of the Scythians in the midſt of their carouſals to ſtrike the ſtrings of their bows, to recall, as it were, their courage which is melting away in pleaſure. But Demetrius one while gave himſelf up entirely to pleaſure, and another while to buſineſs; he did not intermix them. His military talents, therefore, did not ſuffer by his attentions of a gayer kind.

Nay, he ſeemed to ſhew greater abilities in his preparations for war, than in the uſe of them. He was not content unleſs he had ſtores that were more than ſufficient. There was ſomething peculiarly great in the conſtruction of his ſhips and engines, and he took an unwearied pleaſure in the inventing of new ones. For he was ingenious in the ſpeculative part of mechanics; and he did not, like other princes, apply his taſte and knowledge of thoſe arts to the purpoſes of diverſion, or to purſuits of no utility, ſuch as playing on the flute, painting or turning.

Æropus, king of Macedon, ſpent his hours of leiſure in making little tables and lamps. Attalus *, ſurnamed

* Plutarch does not do that honour to Attalus which he deſerves, when he mentions his employments as unworthy of a prince. He made many experiments in natural philoſophy, and wrote a treatiſe

ſurnamed Philometor †, amuſed himſelf with planting poiſonous herbs, not only henbane and hellebore, but hemlock, aconite, and dorycnium ‡. Theſe he cultivated in the royal gardens, and beſide gathering them at their proper ſeaſons, made it his buſineſs to know the qualities of their juices and fruit. And the kings of Parthia took a pride in forging and ſharpening heads for arrows. But the mechanics of Demetrius were of a princely kind; there was always ſomething great in the fabric. Together with a ſpirit of curioſity and love of the arts there appeared in all his works a grandeur of deſign, and dignity of invention, ſo that they were not only worthy of the genius and wealth, but of the hand of a king. His friends were aſtoniſhed at their greatneſs, and his very enemies were pleaſed with their beauty. Nor is this deſcription of him at all exaggerated. His enemies uſed to ſtand upon the ſhore looking with admiration upon his gallies of fifteen or ſixteen banks of oars, as they ſailed along; and his engines called *helepoles*, were a pleaſing ſpectacle to the very towns which he beſieged. This is evident from facts. Lyſimachus, who of all the princes of his time was the bittereſt enemy to Demetrius, when he came to compel him to raiſe the ſiege of Soli in Cilicia, deſired he would ſhew him his engines of war, and his manner of navigating the gallies; and he was ſo ſtruck with the ſight, that he immediately retired. And the Rhodians, after they had ſtood a long ſiege, and at laſt compromiſed the affair, requeſted him to leave ſome of his engines, as monuments both of his power and of their valour.

His

treatiſe on agriculture. Other kings, particularly Hiero and Archelaus did the ſame.

† This is a miſtake in Plutarch. Philometor was another prince, who made agriculture his amuſement.

‡ *Dorycnium* was a common poiſonous plant, which was ſo called from the points of ſpears being tinged with it's juices.

His war with the Rhodians was occaſioned by their alliance with Ptolemy; and in the courſe of it he brought the largeſt of his *helepoles* up to their walls. It's baſe was ſquare; each of it's ſides at the bottom forty-eight cubits wide; and it was ſixty-ſix cubits high. The ſides of the ſeveral diviſions gradually leſſened, ſo that the top was much narrower than the bottom. The inſide was divided into ſeveral ſtories or rooms, one above another. The front which was turned towards the enemy, had a window in each ſtory, through which miſſive weapons of various kinds were thrown: for it was filled with men who practiſed every method of fighting. It neither ſhook nor veered the leaſt in its motion, but rolled on in a ſteady upright poſition. And as it moved with a horrible noiſe, it at once pleaſed and terrified the ſpectators *.

He had two coats of mail brought from Cyprus †, for his uſe in this war, each of which weighed forty *minae*. Zoilus the maker, to ſhew the excellence of their temper, ordered a dart to be ſhot at one of them from an engine at the diſtance of twenty-ſix paces; and it ſtood ſo firm, that there was no more mark upon it than what might be made with ſuch a ſtyle as is uſed in writing. This he took for himſelf, and gave the other to Alcimus the epirot, a man of the greateſt bravery and ſtrength of any in his army. The epirot's whole ſuit of armour weighed two talents, whereas that of others weighed no more than one. He fell in the ſiege of Rhodes in an action near the theatre.

As

* Diodorus Siculus ſays this machine had nine ſtories; and that it rolled on four large wheels, each of which was ſixteen feet high.

† Pliny ſays that the Cyprian Adamant was impregnable. Cyprus was famous for the metal of which armour was made even in the time of the Trojan war: and Agamemnon had a cuiraſs ſent him from Cyniras king of Cyprus. Hom. Il. xi.

As the Rhodians defended themſelves with great ſpirit, Demetrius was not able to do any thing conſiderable. There was one thing in their conduct which he particularly reſented, and for that reaſon he perſiſted in the ſiege. They had taken the veſſel in which were letters from his wife Phila, together with ſome robes and pieces of tapeſtry, and they ſent it, as it was, to Ptolemy. In which they were far from imitating the politeneſs of the Athenians, who, when they were at war with Philip, happening to take his couriers, read all the other letters, but ſent him that of Olympias with the ſeal entire.

But Demetrius, though much incenſed, did not retaliate upon the Rhodians, though he ſoon had an opportunity. Protogenes of Caunus was at that time painting for them the hiſtory of Jalyſus *, and had almoſt finiſhed it when Demetrius ſeized it in one of the ſuburbs. The Rhodians ſent a herald to intreat him to ſpare the work, and not ſuffer it to be deſtroyed. Upon which he ſaid, "He would rather "burn the pictures of his father, than hurt ſo la-"borious a piece of art." For Protogenes is ſaid to

* We have not met with the particular ſubject of this famous painting. Jalyſus was one of the fabulous heroes, the ſon of Ochimus and grandſon of Apollo; and there is a town in Rhodes called Jalyſus, which probably had its name from him. It was in this picture that Protogenes, when he had long laboured in vain to paint the foam of a dog, happily hit it off, by throwing his bruſh in anger at the dog's mouth. Ælian, as well as Plutarch, ſays that he was ſeven years in finiſhing it. Pliny tells us that he gave it four coats of colours, that when one was effaced by time another might ſupply it's place. He tells us too that while Protogenes was at work, he was viſited by Demetrius, and when the latter aſked him how he could proſecute his work with ſo much calmneſs under the rage of war, he anſwered, that "though Demetrius was at war with Rhodes, he did not ſuppoſe, "he was at war with the arts." He is ſaid to have lived on Lupines during the time he was employed on this painting, that his judgment might not be clouded by luxurious diet. The picture was brought to Rome by Caſſius, and placed in the temple of peace, where it remained till the time of Commodus; when, together with the temple, it was conſumed by fire.

have been ſeven years in finiſhing it. Apelles tells us, that when he firſt ſaw it, he was ſo much aſtoniſhed that he could not ſpeak; and at laſt, when he recovered himſelf, he ſaid, "A maſterpiece of labour! a wonderful performance! but it wants "thoſe graces which raiſe the fame of my paintings "to the ſkies." This piece was afterwards carried to Rome, and being added to the number of thoſe collected there, was deſtroyed by fire. The Rhodians now began to grow weary of the war. Demetrius too wanted only a pretence to put an end to it, and he found one. The Athenians came and reconciled them on this condition, that the Rhodians ſhould aſſiſt Antigonus and Demetrius, as allies, in all their wars except thoſe with Ptolemy.

At the ſame time the Athenians called him to their ſuccour againſt Caſſander who was beſieging their city. In conſequence of which he ſailed thither with a fleet of three hundred and thirty ſhips, and a numerous body of land forces. With theſe he not only drove Caſſander out of Attica, but followed him to Thermopylae, and entirely defeated him there. Heraclea then voluntarily ſubmitted, and he received into his army ſix thouſand Macedonians, who came over to him. In his return he reſtored liberty to the Greeks within the ſtreights of Thermopylae, took the Boeotians into his alliance, and made himſelf maſter of Cenchreae. He likewiſe reduced Phyle and Panactus, the bulwarks of Attica, which had been garriſoned by Caſſander, and put them in the hands of the Athenians again. The Athenians, though they had laviſhed honours upon him before in the moſt extravagant manner, yet contrived on this occaſion to appear new in their flattery. They gave orders that he ſhould lodge in the back-part of the *Parthenon*; which accordingly he did, and Minerva was ſaid to have received him as her gueſt; a gueſt not very fit to come under her roof, or ſuitable to her virgin purity.

In

In one of their expeditions, his brother Philip took up his quarters in a houſe where there were three young women. His father Antigonus ſaid nothing to Philip; but called the quarter-maſter, and ſaid to him in his preſence, "Why do not you remove my "ſon out of this lodging, where he is ſo much "ſtraitened for room?" And Demetrius, who ought to have reverenced Minerva, if on no other account, yet as his eldeſt ſiſter (for ſo he affected to call her) behaved in ſuch a manner to perſons of both ſexes who were above the condition of ſlaves, and the citadel was ſo polluted with his debaucheries, that it appeared to be kept ſacred in ſome degree, when he indulged himſelf only with ſuch proſtitutes as Chryſis, Lamia, Demo, and Anticyra.

Some things we chuſe to paſs over out of regard to the character of the city of Athens; but the virtue and chaſtity of Democles ought not to be left under the veil of ſilence. Democles was very young; and his beauty was no ſecret to Demetrius. Indeed, his ſurname unhappily declared it, for he was called Democles *the Handſome*. Demetrius, through his emiſſaries, left nothing unattempted to gain him by great offers, or to intimidate him by threats; but neither could prevail. He left the wreſtling-ring and all public exerciſes, and made uſe only of a private bath. Demetrius watched his opportunity, and ſurprized him there alone. The boy ſeeing nobody near to aſſiſt him, and the impoſſibility of reſiſting with any effect, took off the cover of the cauldron, and jumped into the boiling water. It is true, he came to an unworthy end, but his ſentiments were worthy of his country and of his perſonal merit.

Very different were thoſe of Cleaenetus the ſon of Cleomedon. That youth having procured his father the remiſſion of a fine of fifty talents, brought letters from Demetrius to the people, ſignifying his pleaſure in that reſpect. By which he not only diſhonoured himſelf, but brought great trouble upon the city.

The people took off the fine, but at the ſame time they made a decree, that no citizen ſhould for the future bring any letter from Demetrius. Yet when they found that Demetrius was diſobliged at it, and expreſſed his reſentment in ſtrong terms, they not only repealed the act, but puniſhed the perſons who propoſed and ſupported it, ſome with death, and ſome with baniſhment. They likewiſe paſſed a new edict importing "that the people of Athens had re-"ſolved that whatſoever thing Demetrius might com-"mand, ſhould be accounted holy in reſpect of "the gods, and juſt in reſpect of men." Some perſon of better principle on this occaſion happening to ſay, that Stratocles was mad in propoſing ſuch decrees, Demochares the Leuconian * anſwered, "He "ſhould be mad, if he were not mad." Stratocles found his advantage in his ſervility; and for this ſaying Demochares was proſecuted and baniſhed the city. To ſuch meanneſſes were the Athenians brought, when the garriſon ſeemed to be removed out of their city, and they pretended to be a free people!

Demetrius afterwards paſſed into Peloponneſus, where he found no reſiſtance, for all his enemies fled before him, or ſurrendered their cities. He therefore reduced with eaſe that part of the country called *Acte*, and all Arcadia except Mantinea. Argos, Sicyon and Corinth, he ſet free from their garriſons, by giving the commanding officers a hundred talents to evacuate them. About that time the feaſts of Juno came on at Argos, and Demetrius preſided in the games and other exhibitions. During theſe ſolemnities he married Deidamia the daughter of Aeacides king of the Moloſſians and ſiſter of Pyrrhus. He told the Sicyonians that they lived out of their city, and ſhewing them a more advantageous ſituation, perſuaded them to build one where the town now ſtands.

* The nephew of Demoſthenes. The Greek text that calls him λαχαρευς is erroneous. It ſhould be λευκαρευς.

ſtands. Along with the ſituation he likewiſe changed the name, calling the town Demetrius inſtead of Sicyon.

The ſtates being aſſembled at the Iſthmus, and a prodigious number of people attending, he was proclaimed general of all Greece, as Philip and Alexander had been before: and in the elation of power and ſucceſs, he thought himſelf a much greater man. Alexander robbed no other prince of his title, nor did he ever declare himſelf king of kings, though he raiſed many both to the ſtile and authority of kings. But Demetrius thought no man worthy of that title except his father and himſelf. He even ridiculed thoſe who made uſe of it, and it was with pleaſure he heard the ſycophants at his table drinking king Demetrius, Seleucus commander of the elephants, Ptolemy admiral, Lyſimachus treaſurer, and Agathocles the Sicilian governor of the iſlands. The reſt of them only laughed at ſuch extravagant inſtances of vanity. Lyſimachus alone was angry, becauſe Demetrius ſeemed to think him no better than an eunuch. For the princes of the eaſt had generally eunuchs for their treaſurers. Lyſimachus, indeed, was the moſt violent enemy that he had; and now taking an opportunity to diſparage him on account of his paſſion for Lamia, he ſaid, "This was the firſt "time he had ſeen a whore act in a tragedy *." Demetrius ſaid in anſwer, "My whore is an honeſter "woman than his Penelope."

When he was preparing to return to Athens, he wrote to the republic, that on his arrival he intended to be initiated, and to be immediately admitted not only to the leſs myſteries, but even to thoſe called intuitive. This was unlawful and unprecedented:

* The modern ſtage need not be put to the bluſh by this aſſertion in favour of the ancient: the reaſon of it was, that there were no women actors. Men in female dreſſes performed their parts.

for the leſs myſteries were celebrated in February *, and the greater in September †; and none were admitted to the intuitive till a year at leaſt after they had attended the greater myſteries ‡. When the letters were read, Pythodorus the torch-bearer was the only perſon that ventured to oppoſe the demand; and his oppoſition was entirely ineffectual. Stratocles procured a decree that the month of *Munychion* ſhould be called and reputed the month of *Anthesterion*, to give Demetrius an opportunity for his firſt initiation, which was to be performed in the ward of Agra. After which, Munychion was changed again into Boëdromion. By theſe means Demetrius was admitted to the greater myſteries and to immediate inſpection. Hence thoſe ſtrokes of ſatire upon Stratocles from the poet Philippides—"The man who can "contract the whole year into one month:" and with reſpect to Demetrius's being lodged in the *Parthenon*—"The man who turns the temples into inns, "and brings proſtitutes into the company of the "virgin goddeſs."

But amongſt the many abuſes and enormities committed in their city, no one ſeems to have given the Athenians greater uneaſineſs than this. He ordered them to raiſe two hundred and fifty talents in a very ſhort time, and the ſum was exacted with the greateſt rigour. When the money was brought in, and he ſaw it all together, he ordered it to be given to Lamia and his other miſtreſſes to buy ſoap. Thus the diſgrace hurt them more than the loſs, and the application more than the impoſt. Some, however, ſay, that it was not to the Athenians he behaved in this

* *Anthesterion.*

† *Boëdromion.*

‡ Plutarch in this place ſeems to make a difference between the intuitive and the greater myſteries, though they are commonly underſtood to be the ſame. Caſaubon and Meurſius think the text corrupt; but the manner in which they would reſtore it, does not render it leſs perplexed.

this manner, but to the people of Theſſaly. Beſide this diſagreeable tax, Lamia extorted money from many perſons on her own authority, to enable her to provide an entertainment for the king. And the expence of that ſupper was ſo remarkable, that Lynceus the Samian took pains to give a deſcription of it. For the ſame reaſon, a comic poet of thoſe times with equal wit and truth called Lamia an *Helepolis*. And Democharès the Selian called Demetrius *Muthos*, that is, *fable*, becauſe he too had his *Lamia**.

The great intereſt that Lamia had with Demetrius in conſequence of his paſſion for her, excited a ſpirit of envy and averſion to her, not only in the breaſts of his wives but of his friends. Demetrius having ſent ambaſſadors to Lyſimachus on ſome occaſion or other, that prince amuſed himſelf one day with ſhewing them the deep wounds he had received from a lion's claws in his arms and thighs, and gave them an account of his being ſhut up with that wild beaſt by Alexander the Great, and of the battle he had with it†. Upon which, they laughed and ſaid, "The king our maſter, too, bears on his neck the "marks of a dreadful wild beaſt called a Lamia." Indeed, it was ſtrange that he ſhould at firſt have ſo great an objection againſt the diſparity of years between him and Phila, and afterwards fall into ſuch a laſting captivity to Lamia, though ſhe had paſſed her prime at their firſt acquaintance. One evening when Lamia had been playing on the flute at ſupper, Demetrius aſked Demo, ſurnamed *Mania*‡, what ſhe

* Fabulous hiſtory mentions a queen of Lybia, who out of rage for the loſs of her own children, ordered thoſe of other women to be brought to her and devoured them. From whence ſhe was called *Lamia* from the Phœnician word *labama*, to devour. Upon this account, *Diodorus* tells us that this *Lamia* became a bugbear to children. And this ſatisfies M. Dacier with regard to the explanation of this paſſage in Plutarch.

† Juſtin and Pauſanias mention this; but Q. Curtius doubts the truth of it; and he probably is in the right.

‡ In Engliſh, Miſs Madcap.

thought of her. "I think her an old woman, Sir," ſaid Demo. Another time, when there was an extraordinary deſert on the table, he ſaid to her, "You "ſee what fine things Lamia ſends me:" "My mo-"ther will ſend you finer," anſwered Demo, "if you "will but lie with her."

We ſhall mention only one ſtory more of Lamia, which relates to her cenſure of the celebrated judgment of Bocchoris. In Egypt there was a young man extremely deſirous of the favours of a courtezan named Thonis, but ſhe ſet too high a price upon them. Afterwards he fancied that he enjoyed her in a dream, and his deſire was ſatisfied. Thonis, upon this, commenced an action againſt him for the money; and Bocchoris having heard both parties, ordered the man to tell the gold that ſhe demanded into a baſon, and ſhake it about before her, that ſhe might enjoy the ſight of it. For "fancy," ſaid he, "is no more than the ſhadow of truth." Lamia did not think this a juſt ſentence; "becauſe the woman's "deſire of the gold was not removed by the appear-"ance of it; whereas the dream cured the paſ-"ſion of her lover."

The change in the fortunes and actions of the ſubject of our narrative, now turns the comic ſcene into tragedy: all the other kings having united their forces againſt Antigonus, Demetrius left Greece in order to join him; and was greatly animated to find his father preparing for war with a ſpirit above his years. Had Antigonus abated a little of his pretenſions, and reſtrained his ambition to govern the world, he might have kept the pre-eminence among the ſucceſſors of Alexander, not only for himſelf, but for his ſon after him. But being naturally arrogant, imperious, and no leſs inſolent in his expreſſions than in his actions, he exaſperated many young and powerful princes againſt him. He boaſted that "he could break the preſent league and diſ-"perſe the united armies with as much eaſe, as a

"boy

" boy does a flock of birds by throwing a ſtone or " making a ſlight noiſe."

He had an army of more than ſeventy thouſand foot, ten thouſand horſe, and ſeventy-five elephants. The enemy's infantry conſiſted of ſixty-four thouſand men, their cavalry of ten thouſand five hundred; they had four hundred elephants, and a hundred and twenty armed chariots. When the two armies were in ſight, there was a viſible change in the mind of Antigonus, but rather with reſpect to his hopes than his reſolution. In other engagements his ſpirits uſed to be high, his port lofty, his voice loud, and his expreſſions vaunting; inſomuch that he would ſometimes in the heat of the action let fall ſome jocular expreſſion, to ſhew his unconcern and his contempt of his adverſary. But at this time he was obſerved for the moſt part to be thoughtful and ſilent; and one day he preſented his ſon to the army, and recommended him as his ſucceſſor. What appeared ſtill more extraordinary, was, that he took him aſide into his tent, and diſcourſed with him there: for he never uſed to communicate his intentions to him in private, or to conſult him in the leaſt, but to rely entirely on his own judgment, and to give orders for the execution of what he had reſolved on by himſelf. It is reported that Demetrius, when very young, once aſked him when they ſhould decamp, and that he anſwered angrily, " Are you afraid that " you only ſhall not hear the trumpet?"

On this occaſion, it is true, their ſpirits were depreſſed by ill omens. Demetrius dreamed that Alexander came to him in a magnificent ſuit of armour, and aſked him what was to be the word in the enſuing battle. Demetrius anſwered, *Jupiter* and *victory*; upon which Alexander ſaid, " I go then to your ad- " verſaries, for they are ready to receive me." When the army was put in order of battle, Antigonus ſtumbled as he went out of his tent, and falling on his face, received a conſiderable hurt. After he had recovered

recovered himſelf, he ſtretched out his hands towards heaven, and prayed either for victory, or that he might die before he was ſenſible that the day was loſt.

When the battle was begun, Demetrius, at the head of his beſt cavalry, fell upon Antiochus the ſon of Seleucus, and fought with ſo much bravery that he put the enemy to flight; but by a vain and unſeaſonable ambition to go upon the purſuit, he loſt the victory. For he went ſo far that he could not get back to join his infantry, the enemy's elephants having taken up the intermediate ſpace. Seleucus now ſeeing his adverſary's foot deprived of their horſe, did not attack them, but rode about them as if he was going every moment to charge; intending by this manoeuvre both to terrify them, and to give them opportunity to change ſides. The event anſwered his expectation. Great part ſeparated from the main body, and voluntarily came over to him; the reſt were put to the rout. When great numbers were bearing down upon Antigonus, one of thoſe that were about him, ſaid, "They are coming a-"gainſt you, Sir." He anſwered, "What other "object can they have? But Demetrius will come "to my aſſiſtance." In this hope he continued to the laſt, ſtill looking about for his ſon, 'till he fell under a ſhower of darts. His ſervants and his very friends forſook him; only Thorax of Lariſſa remained by the dead body.

The battle being thus decided, the kings who were victorious, diſmembered the kingdom of Antigonus and Demetrius, like ſome great body, and each took a limb; thus adding to their own dominions the provinces which thoſe two princes were poſſeſſed of before. Demetrius fled with five thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe. And as he reached Epheſus in a ſhort time, and was in want of money, it was expected that he would not ſpare the temple. However,

However, he not only ſpared it himſelf*, but fearing that his ſoldiers might be tempted to violate it, he immediately left the place, and embarked for Greece. His principal dependence was upon the Athenians; for, with them he had left his ſhips, his money, and his wife Deidamia; and in this diſtreſs he thought he could have no ſafer aſylum than their affection. He therefore purſued his voyage with all poſſible expedition; but ambaſſadors from Athens met him near the Cyclades; and intreated him not to think of going thither, becauſe the people had declared by an edict that they would receive no king into their city. As for Deidamia, they had conducted her to Megara with a proper retinue, and all the reſpect due to her rank. This ſo enraged Demetrius that he was no longer maſter of himſelf; though he had hitherto borne his misfortune with ſufficient calmneſs, and diſcovered no mean or ungenerous ſentiment in the great change of his affairs. But to be deceived, beyond all his expectation, by the Athenians; to find by facts that their affection, ſo great in appearance, was only falſe and counterfeit, was a thing that cut him to the heart. Indeed, exceſſive honours are a very indifferent proof of the regard of the people for kings and princes. For all the value of thoſe honours reſts in their being freely given; and there can be no certainty of that, becauſe the givers may be under the influence of fear. And fear and love often produce the ſame public declarations. For the ſame reaſon wiſe princes will not look upon ſtatues, pictures, or divine honours, but rather conſider their own actions and behaviour, and, in conſequence thereof, either believe thoſe honours real, or diſregard them as the dictates of neceſſity. Nothing more frequently happens than that the people hate their ſovereign the moſt at the time that he is receiving the moſt immoderate honours, the tribute of unwilling minds.

Demetrius,

* A ſtriking proof that adverſity is the parent of virtue!

Demetrius, though he ſeverely felt this ill-treatment, was not in a condition to revenge it; he therefore, by his envoys, expoſtulated with the Athenians in moderate terms, and only deſired them to ſend him his gallies, among which there was one of thirteen banks of oars. As ſoon as he had received them, he ſteered for the Iſthmus, but found his affairs there in a very bad ſituation. The cities expelled his garriſons, and were all revolting to his enemies. Leaving Pyrrhus in Greece, he then ſailed to the Cherſoneſus, and by the ravages he committed in the country, diſtreſſed Lyſimachus, as well as enriched and ſecured the fidelity of his own forces, which now began to gather ſtrength and improve into a reſpectable army. The other kings paid no regard to Lyſimachus, who at the ſame time that he was much more formidable in his power than Demetrius, was not in the leaſt more moderate in his conduct.

Soon after this, Seleucus ſent propoſals of marriage to Stratonice the daughter of Demetrius by Phila. He had, indeed, already, a ſon named Antiochus by Apama, a Perſian lady; but he thought that his dominions were ſufficient for more heirs, and that he ſtood in need of this new alliance, becauſe he ſaw Lyſimachus marrying one of Ptolemy's daughters himſelf, and taking the other for his ſon Agathocles. A connection with Seleucus was a happy and unexpected turn of fortune for Demetrius.

He took his daughter, and ſailed with his whole fleet to Syria. In the courſe of the voyage he was ſeveral times under a neceſſity of making land, and he touched in particular upon the coaſt of Cilicia, which had been given to Pliſtarchus, the brother of Caſſander, as his ſhare, after the defeat of Antigonus. Pliſtarchus thinking himſelf injured by the deſcent which Demetrius made upon his country, went immediately to Caſſander, to complain of Seleucus for having reconciled himſelf to the

common enemy without the concurrence of the other kings. Demetrius being informed of his departure, left the ſea, and marched up to Quinda; where, finding twelve hundred talents, the remains of his father's treaſures, he carried them off, embarked again without interruption, and ſet ſail with the utmoſt expedition; his wife Phila having joined him by the way.

Seleucus met him at Orofſus. Their interview was conducted in a ſincere and princely manner, without any marks of deſign or ſuſpicion. Seleucus invited Demetrius firſt to his pavilion; and then Demetrius entertained him in his galley of thirteen banks of oars. They converſed at their eaſe, and paſſed the time together without guards or arms; till Seleucus took Stratonice, and carried her with great pomp to Antioch.

Demetrius ſeized the province of Cilicia, and ſent Phila to her brother Caſſander, to anſwer the accuſations brought againſt him by Pliſtarchus. Mean time, Deidamia came to him from Greece, but ſhe had not ſpent any long time with him before ſhe ſickened and died; and Demetrius having accommodated matters with Ptolemy through Seleucus, it was agreed that he ſhould marry Ptolemais the daughter of that prince.

Hitherto Seleucus had behaved with honour and propriety: but afterwards he demanded that Demetrius ſhould ſurrender Cilicia to him for a ſum of money, and on his refuſal to do that, angrily inſiſted on having Tyre and Sidon. This behaviour appeared unjuſtifiable and cruel. When he already commanded Aſia from the Indies to the Syrian ſea, how fordid was it to quarrel for two cities with a prince who was his father-in-law, and who laboured under ſo painful a reverſe of fortune. A ſtrong proof how true the maxim of Plato is, *That the man who would be truly happy, ſhould not ſtudy to enlarge his eſtate, but to contract his deſires.* For he who does not reſtrain his avarice, muſt for ever be poor.

However,

However, Demetrius, far from being intimidated, ſaid, "Though I had loſt a thouſand battles as great "as that of Ipſus, nothing ſhould bring me to buy "the alliance of Seleucus;" and, upon this principle, he garriſoned thoſe cities in the ſtrongeſt manner. About this time having intelligence that Athens was divided into factions, and that Lachares taking advantage of theſe, had ſeized the government, he expected to take the city with eaſe, if he appeared ſuddenly before it. Accordingly he ſet out with a conſiderable fleet, and croſſed the ſea without danger; but, on the coaſt of Attica he met with a ſtorm, in which he loſt many ſhips and great numbers of his men. He eſcaped, however, himſelf, and began hoſtilities againſt Athens, though with no great vigour. As his operations anſwered no end, he ſent his lieutenants to collect another fleet, and in the mean time entered Peloponneſus, and laid ſiege to Meſſene. In one of the aſſaults he was in great danger; for a dart which came from an engine, pierced through his jaw, and entered his mouth. But he recovered, and reduced ſome cities that had revolted. After this, he invaded Attica again, took Eleuſis and Rhamnus, and ravaged the country. Happening to take a ſhip loaded with wheat, which was bound for Athens, he hanged both the merchant and the pilot. This alarmed other merchants ſo much, that they forbore attempting any thing of that kind, ſo that a famine enſued; and, together with the want of bread-corn, the people were in want of every thing elſe. A buſhel * of ſalt was ſold for forty *drachmas*, and a peck † of wheat for three hundred. A fleet of a hundred and fifty ſhips which Ptolemy ſent to their relief, appeared before Ægina; but the encouragement it afforded them, was of ſhort continuance. A great reinforcement of ſhips came to

* *Medimnus.*

† *Modius.* Theſe meaſures were ſomething more, but we give only the round quantity. See the table.

to Demetrius from Peloponneſus and Cyprus, ſo that he had not in all fewer than three hundred. Ptolemy's fleet, therefore, weighed anchor and ſteered off. The tyrant Lachares at the ſame time made his eſcape privately, and abandoned the city.

The Athenians, though they had made a decree that no man, under pain of death, ſhould mention peace or reconciliation with Demetrius, now opened the gates neareſt him, and ſent ambaſſadors to his camp. Not that they expected any favour from him, but they were forced to take that ſtep by the extremity of famine. In the courſe of it many dreadful things happened, and this is related among the reſt. A father and his ſon were ſitting in the ſame room in the laſt deſpair; when a dead mouſe happening to fall from the roof of the houſe, they both ſtarted up and fought for it. Epicurus the philoſopher is ſaid at that time to have ſupported his friends and diſciples with beans, which he ſhared with them, and counted out to them daily.

In ſuch a miſerable condition was the city, when Demetrius entered it. He ordered all the Athenians to aſſemble in the theatre, which he ſurrounded with his troops; and having planted his guards on each ſide the ſtage, he came down through the paſſage by which the tragedians enter. The fears of the people on his appearance increaſed, but they were entirely diſſipated when he began to ſpeak. For neither the accent of his voice was loud, nor his expreſſions ſevere. He complained of them in ſoft and eaſy terms, and taking them again into favour, made them a preſent of a hundred thouſand meaſures * of wheat, and re-eſtabliſhed ſuch an adminiſtration as was moſt agreeable to them.

The orator Dromoclides obſerved the variety of acclamations amongſt the people, and that in the joy of their hearts they endeavoured to outdo the encomiums

* *Medimni.*

miums of thoſe that ſpoke from the *roſtrum*. He therefore propoſed a decree that the Piraeus and the fort of Munychia ſhould be delivered up to king Demetrius. After this bill was paſſed, Demetrius, on his own authority, put a garriſon in the Muſeum; leſt, if there ſhould be another defection amongſt the people, it might keep him from other enterprizes.

The Athenians thus reduced, Demetrius immediately formed a deſign upon Lacedaemon. King Archidamus met him at Mantinea, where Demetrius defeated him in a pitched battle; and, after he had put him to flight, he entered Laconia. There was another action almoſt in ſight of Sparta, in which he killed two hundred of the enemy, and made five hundred priſoners; ſo that he ſeemed almoſt maſter of a town, which hitherto had never been taken. But ſurely fortune never diſplayed ſuch ſudden and extraordinary viciſſitudes in the life of any other prince; in no other ſcene of things did ſhe ſo often change from low to high, from a glorious to an abject condition, or again repair the ruins ſhe had made. Hence, he is ſaid, in his greateſt adverſity, to have addreſſed her in the words of Æſchylus.—

Thou gav'ſt me life and honour, and thy hand
Now ſtrikes me to the heart.

When his affairs ſeemed to be in ſo promiſing a train for power and empire, news was brought that Lyſimachus, in the firſt place, had taken the cities he had in Aſia, that Ptolemy had diſpoſſeſſed him of all Cyprus, except the city of Salamis, in which he had left his children and his mother, and that this town was now actually beſieged. Fortune, however, like the woman in Archilochus,

Whoſe right-hand offered water, while the left
Bore hoſtile fire——

though ſhe drew him from Lacedaemon by theſe alarming tidings, yet ſoon raiſed him a new ſcene of light

light and hope. She availed herſelf of theſe circumſtances.

After the death of Caſſander, his eldeſt ſon Philip had but a ſhort reign over the Macedonians, for he died ſoon after his father. The two remaining brothers were perpetually at variance. One of them, named Antipater, having killed his mother Theſſalonica, Alexander the other brother called in the Greek princes to his aſſiſtance, Pyrrhus from Epirus, and Demetrius from Peloponneſus. Pyrrhus arrived firſt, and ſeized a conſiderable part of Macedonia, which he kept for his reward, and by that means became a formidable neighbour to Alexander. Demetrius no ſooner received the letters, than he marched his forces thither likewiſe, and the young prince was ſtill more afraid of him on account of his great name and dignity. He met him, however, at Dium, and received him in the moſt reſpectful manner, but told him at the ſame time that his affairs did not now require his preſence. Hence mutual jealouſies aroſe, and Demetrius, as he was going to ſup with Alexander upon his invitation, was informed that there was a deſign againſt his life, which was to be put in execution in the midſt of the entertainment. Demetrius was not in the leaſt diſconcerted; he only ſlackened his pace, and gave orders to his generals to keep the troops under arms: after which he took his guards and the officers of his houſhold, who were much more numerous than thoſe of Alexander, and commanded them to enter the banqueting-room with him, and to remain there 'till he roſe from table. Alexander's people, intimidated by this train, durſt not attack Demetrius: and he, for his part, pretending that he was not diſpoſed to drink that evening, ſoon withdrew. Next day, he prepared to decamp; and alledging that he was called off by ſome new emergency, deſired Alexander to excuſe him if he left him ſoon this time; and aſſured him that at ſome other opportunity he would make a longer

ſtay. Alexander rejoiced that he was going away voluntarily and without any hoſtile intentions, and accompanied him as far as Theſſaly. When they came to Lariſſa, they renewed their invitations, but both with malignity in their hearts. In conſequence of theſe polite manoeuvres, Alexander fell into the ſnare of Demetrius. He would not go with a guard, leſt he ſhould teach the other to do the ſame. He therefore ſuffered that which he was preparing for his enemy, and which he only deferred for the ſurer and more convenient execution. He went to ſup with Demetrius; and as his hoſt roſe up in the midſt of the feaſt, Alexander was terrified and roſe up with him. Demetrius, when he was at the door, ſaid no more to his guards than this, "Kill the man that "follows me;" and then went out. Upon which, they cut Alexander in pieces, and his friends who attempted to aſſiſt him. One of theſe is reported to have ſaid, as he was dying, "Demetrius is but one "day beforehand with us."

The night was, as might be expected, full of terror and confuſion. In the morning, the Macedonians were greatly diſturbed with the apprehenſion that Demetrius would fall upon them with all his forces; but when, inſtead of an appearance of Hoſtilities, he ſent a meſſage deſiring to ſpeak with them, and vindicate what was done, they recovered their ſpirits, and reſolved to receive him with civility. When he came he found it neceſſary to make long ſpeeches. They hated Antipater for the murder of his mother, and as they had no better prince at hand, they declared Demetrius king, and conducted him into Macedonia. The Macedonians who were at home, proved not averſe to the change. For they always remembered with horror Caſſander's baſe behaviour to Alexander the Great; and if they had any regard left for the moderation of old Antipater, it turned all in favour of Demetrius, who had married his daughter Phila, and had a

ſon

ſon by her to ſucceed him in the throne, a youth who was already grown up, and at this very time bore arms under his father.

Immediately after this glorious turn of fortune, Demetrius received news that Ptolemy had ſet his wife and children at liberty, and diſmiſſed them with preſents and other tokens of honour. He was informed too that his daughter, who had been married to Seleucus, was now wife to Antiochus the ſon of that prince, and declared queen of the barbarous nations in Upper Aſia. Antiochus was violently enamoured of the young Stratonice, though ſhe had a ſon by his father. His condition was extremely unhappy. He made the greateſt efforts to conquer his paſſion, but they were of no avail. At laſt, conſidering that his deſires were of the moſt extravagant kind, that there was no proſpect of ſatisfaction for them, and that the ſuccours of reaſon entirely failed, he reſolved in his deſpair to rid himſelf of life, and bring it gradually to a period, by neglecting all care of his perſon and abſtaining from food. For this purpoſe he made ſickneſs his pretence. His phyſician Eraſiſtratus eaſily diſcovered that his diſtemper was love; but it was difficult to conjecture who was the object. In order to find it out, he ſpent whole days in his chamber; and whenever any beautiful perſon of either ſex entered it, he obſerved with great attention, not only his looks, but every part and motion of the body which correſponds the moſt with the paſſions of the ſoul. When others entered he was entirely unaffected, but when Stratonice came in, as ſhe often did, either alone or with Seleucus, he ſhewed all the ſymptoms deſcribed by Sappho, the faultering voice, the burning bluſh, the languid eye *, the ſudden ſweat, the tumultuous pulſe; and at length, the paſſion over-coming his ſpirits, a *deliquium* and mortal paleneſs.

* Ὀφθαλμῶν ὑποδοχαὶ is a corruption. It ought to be read ὀφθαλμῶν ὑποληψις, the faint, languid, or clouded eye.

Eraſiſtratus concluded from theſe tokens that the prince was in love with Stratonice, and perceived that he intended to carry the ſecret with him to the grave. He ſaw the difficulty of breaking the matter to Seleucus; yet depending upon the affection which the king had for his ſon, he ventured one day to tell him, "that the young man's diſorder was love, "but love for which there was no remedy." The king, quite aſtoniſhed, ſaid, "How! Love for "which there is no remedy!" "It is certainly ſo," anſwered Eraſiſtratus, "for he is in love with my "wife." "What! Eraſiſtratus!" ſaid the king, "would you, who are my friend, refuſe to give up "your wife to my ſon, when you ſee us in danger of "loſing our only hope? "Nay, would you do ſuch "a thing," anſwered the phyſician, "though you "are his father, if he were in love with Stratonice?" "O my friend," replied Seleucus, "how happy "ſhould I be, if either God or man could remove "his affections thither! I would give up my king-"dom, ſo I could but keep Antiochus." He pronounced theſe words with ſo much emotion and ſuch a profuſion of tears, that Eraſiſtratus took him by the hand, and ſaid, "Then there is no need of Eraſiſtra-"tus. You, Sir, who are a father, a huſband, and "a king, will be the beſt phyſician too for your fa-"mily."

Upon this, Seleucus ſummoned the people to meet in full aſſembly, and told them, "It was his will "and pleaſure that Antiochus ſhould intermarry "with Stratonice, and that they ſhould be declared "king and queen of the Upper provinces. He be-"lieved," he ſaid, "that Antiochus, who was ſuch "an obedient ſon, would not oppoſe his deſire; and "if the princeſs ſhould oppoſe the marriage as an "unprecedented thing, he hoped his friends would "perſuade her to think, that what was agreeable to "the king and advantageous to the kingdom, was "both juſt and honourable." Such is ſaid to have been

been the cauſe of the marriage between Antiochus and Stratonice.

Demetrius was now maſter of Macedonia and Theſſaly; and as he had great part of Peloponneſus too, and the cities of Megara and Athens on the other ſide the Iſthmus, he wanted to reduce the Boeotians, and threatened them with hoſtilities. At firſt they propoſed to come to an accommodation with him on reaſonable conditions; but Cleonymus the Spartan having thrown himſelf in the mean time into Thebes with his army, the Boeotians were ſo much elated, that, at the inſtigation of Piſis the Theſpian, who was a leading man among them, they broke off the treaty. Demetrius then drew up his machines to the walls, and laid ſiege to Thebes; upon which, Cleonymus apprehending the conſequence, ſtole out; and the Thebans were ſo much intimidated that they immediately ſurrendered. Demetrius placed garriſons in their cities, exacted large contributions, and left Hieronymus the hiſtorian governor of Boeotia. He appeared, however, to make a merciful uſe of his victory, particularly in the caſe of Piſis. For though he took him priſoner, he did not offer him any injury: on the contrary, he treated him with great civility and politeneſs, and appointed him *polemarch* of Theſpiae.

Not long after this, Lyſimachus being taken priſoner by Dromichaetes, Demetrius marched towards Thrace with all poſſible expedition, hoping to find it in a defenceleſs State. But while he was gone the Boeotians revolted again, and he had the mortification to hear on the road that Lyſimachus was ſet at liberty. He therefore immediately turned back in great anger; and finding, on his return, that the Boeotians were already driven out of the field by his ſon Antigonus, he laid ſiege again to Thebes. However, as Pyrrhus had over-run all Theſſaly, and was advanced as far as Thermopylae, Demetrius left the con-

duct of the ſiege to his ſon Antigonus, and marched againſt that warrior.

Pyrrhus immediately retiring, Demetrius placed a guard of ten thouſand foot and a thouſand horſe in Theſſaly, and then returned to the ſiege. His firſt operation was to bring up his machine called *helepolis*; but he proceeded in it with great labour and by ſlow degrees, by reaſon of it's ſize and weight; he could ſcarce move it two furlongs in two months *. As the Boeotians made a vigorous reſiſtance, and Demetrius often obliged his men to renew the aſſault, rather out of a ſpirit of animoſity than the hope of any advantage, young Antigonus was greatly concerned at ſeeing ſuch numbers fall, and ſaid, "Why, Sir, "do we let theſe brave fellows loſe their lives with-"out any neceſſity?" Demetrius, offended at the liberty he took, made anſwer, "Why do you trou-"ble yourſelf about it? Have you any proviſions to "find for the dead?" To ſhew, however, that he was not prodigal of the lives of his troops only, he took his ſhare in the danger, and received a wound from a lance that pierced through his neck. This gave him exceſſive pain, yet he continued the ſiege 'till he once more made himſelf maſter of Thebes. He entered the city with ſuch an air of reſentment and ſeverity, that the inhabitants expected to ſuffer the moſt dreadful puniſhments; yet he contented himſelf with putting thirteen of them to death, and baniſhing a few more. All the reſt he pardoned. Thus Thebes was taken twice within ten years after it's being rebuilt.

The Pythian games now approached, and Demetrius on this occaſion took a very extraordinary ſtep. As the Ætolians were in poſſeſſion of the paſſes to Delphi, he ordered the games to be ſolemnized at Athens; alledging that they could not pay their ho-

mage

* A wonderful kind of motion this for a machine that *ran* upon wheels! about twelve inches in an hour!

mage to Apollo in a more proper place than that where the people conſidered him as their patron and progenitor.

From thence he returned to Macedonia: but as he was naturally indiſpoſed for a life of quiet and inaction, and obſerved beſides that the Macedonians were attentive and obedient to him in time of war, though turbulent and ſeditious in peace, he undertook an expedition againſt the Ætolians. After he had ravaged the country, he left Pantauchus there with a reſpectable army, and with the reſt of his forces marched againſt Pyrrhus. Pyrrhus was coming to ſeek him; but as they happened to take different roads and miſſed each other, Demetrius laid waſte Epirus, and Pyrrhus falling upon Pantauchus, obliged him to ſtand on his defence. The two generals met in the action, and both gave and received wounds. Pyrrhus, however, defeated his adverſary, killed great numbers of his men, and made five thouſand priſoners.

This battle was the principal cauſe of Demetrius's ruin. For Pyrrhus was not ſo much hated by the Macedonians for the miſchief he had done them, as admired for his perſonal bravery; and the late battle in particular gained him great honour: inſomuch that many of the Macedonians ſaid, "That of all "the kings it was in Pyrrhus only that they ſaw a "lively image of Alexander's valour; whereas the "other princes, eſpecially Demetrius, imitated him "only in a theatrical manner, by affecting a lofty port "and majeſtic air."

Indeed, Demetrius did always appear like a theatrical king. For he not only affected a ſuperfluity of ornament in wearing a double diadem, and a robe of purple interwoven with gold, but he had his ſhoes made of cloth of gold with ſoals of fine purple. There was a robe a long time in weaving for him, of moſt ſumptuous magnificence. The figure of the world and all the heavenly bodies were to be re-

preſented upon it; but it was left unfiniſhed on account of his change of fortune. Nor did any of his ſucceſſors ever preſume to wear it, though Macedon had many pompous kings after him.

This oſtentation of dreſs offended a people who were unaccuſtomed to ſuch ſights; but his luxurious and diſſolute manner of life was a more obnoxious circumſtance: and what diſobliged them moſt of all was his difficulty of acceſs. For he either refuſed to ſee thoſe who applied to him, or behaved to them in a harſh and haughty manner. Though he favoured the Athenians more than the reſt of the Greeks, their ambaſſadors waited two years at his court for an anſwer. The Lacedaemonians happening to ſend only one ambaſſador to him, he conſidered it as an affront, and ſaid in great anger, "What! have the Lacedaemonians ſent no more than one ambaſſador?" "No;" ſaid the Spartan, acutely, in his Laconic way; "one ambaſſador to one king."

One day, when he ſeemed to come out in a more obliging temper, and to be ſomething leſs inacceſſible, he was preſented with ſeveral petitions, all which he received, and put them in the ſkirt of his robe. The people of courſe followed him with great joy: but no ſooner was he come to the bridge over the *Axius*, than he opened his robe, and ſhook them all into the river. This ſtung the Macedonians to the heart; when, looking for the protection of a king, they found the inſolence of a tyrant. And this treatment appeared the harder to ſuch as had ſeen, or heard from thoſe who had ſeen, how kind the behaviour of Philip was on ſuch occaſions. An old woman was one day very troubleſome to him in the ſtreet, and begged with great importunity to be heard. He ſaid, "he was not at leiſure." "Then," cried the old woman, "you ſhould not be a king." The king was ſtruck with theſe words; and having conſidered the thing a moment, he returned to his palace; where, poſtponing all other affairs, he gave

audience for ſeveral days to all who choſe to apply to him, beginning with the old woman. Indeed, nothing becomes a king ſo much as the diſtribution of juſtice. For "Mars is a tyrant," as Timotheus expreſſes it; but juſtice, according to Pindar, "is the "rightful ſovereign of the world." The things which, Homer tells us, kings receive from Jove, are not machines for taking towns, or ſhips with brazen beaks, but law and juſtice *: theſe they are to guard and to cultivate. And it is not the moſt warlike, the moſt violent and ſanguinary, but the juſteſt of princes, whom he calls the diſciple of Jupiter †. But Demetrius was pleaſed with an appellation quite oppoſite to that which is given the king of the Gods. For Jupiter is called *Policus* and *Poliuchus*, the *patron* and *guardian of cities*; Demetrius is ſurnamed *Poliorcetes*, the *deſtroyer of cities*. Thus in conſequence of the union of power and folly, vice is ſubſtituted in the place of virtue, and the ideas of glory and injuſtice are united too.

When Demetrius lay dangerouſly ill at Pella, he was very near loſing Macedonia: for Pyrrhus, by a ſudden inroad, penetrated as far as Edeſſa. But as ſoon as he recovered he repulſed him with eaſe, and afterwards he came to terms with him: for he was not willing to be hindered, by ſkirmiſhing for poſts with Pyrrhus, from the purſuit of greater and more arduous enterprizes. His ſcheme was to recover all his father's dominions; and his preparations were ſuitable to the greatneſs of the object. For he had raiſed an army of ninety-eight thouſand foot and near twelve thouſand horſe; and he was building five hundred gallies in the ports of Piraeus, Corinth, Chalas, and Pella. He went himſelf to all theſe places, to give directions to the workmen, and aſſiſt in the conſtruction. All the world was ſurpriſed, not

* Il. l. i. 231.
† Od. xix. 178.

not only at the number, but at the greatneſs of his works. For no man, before his time, ever ſaw a galley of fifteen or ſixteen banks of oars. Afterwards, indeed, Ptolemy Philopator built one of forty banks: it's length was two hundred and eighty cubits, and its height to the top of the prow* forty-eight cubits. Four hundred mariners belonged to it, excluſive of the rowers, who were no fewer than four thouſand; and the deck and the ſeveral interſtices were capable of containing near three thouſand ſoldiers. This however was mere matter of curioſity; for it differed very little from an immoveable building, and was calculated more for ſhow, than for uſe, as it could not be put in motion without great difficulty and danger. But the ſhips of Demetrius had their uſe as well as beauty; with all their magnificence of conſtruction, they were equally fit for fighting; and though they were admirable for their ſize, they were ſtill more ſo for the ſwiftneſs of their motion.

Demetrius having provided ſuch an armament for the invaſion of Aſia, as no man ever had before him except Alexander the Great, Seleucus, Ptolemy, and Lyſimachus united againſt him. They likewiſe joined in an application to Pyrrhus, deſiring him to fall upon Macedonia; and not to look upon himſelf as bound by the treaty with Demetrius; ſince that prince had entered into it, not with any regard to the advantage of Pyrrhus, or in order to avoid future hoſtilities, but merely for his own ſake, that he might at preſent be at liberty to turn his arms againſt whom he pleaſed. As Pyrrhus accepted the propoſal, Demetrius, while he was preparing for his voyage, found himſelf ſurrounded with war at home. For at one inſtant of time Ptolemy came with a great fleet to draw Greece off from it's preſent maſter, Lyſimachus invaded Macedonia from Thrace, and Pyrrhus entering it from a nearer quarter, joined in ravaging

* ακροπολιον.

ravaging that country. Demetrius, on this occaſion, left his ſon in Greece, and went himſelf to the relief of Macedonia. His firſt operations were intended againſt Lyſimachus, but as he was upon his march he received an account that Pyrrhus had taken Beroea; and the news ſoon ſpreading among his Macedonians, he could do nothing in an orderly manner: for nothing was to be found in the whole army but lamentations, tears, and expreſſions of reſentment and reproach againſt their king. They were even ready to march off, under pretence of attending to their domeſtic affairs, but in fact to join Lyſimachus.

In this caſe Demetrius thought proper to get at the greateſt diſtance he could from Lyſimachus, and turn his arms againſt Pyrrhus. Lyſimachus was of their own nation, and many of them knew him in the ſervice of Alexander; whereas Pyrrhus was an entire ſtranger, and therefore he thought the Macedonians would never give him the preference. But he was ſadly miſtaken in his conjecture; and he ſoon found it upon encamping near Pyrrhus. The Macedonians always admired his diſtinguiſhed valour, and had of old been accuſtomed to think the beſt man in the field the moſt worthy of a crown. Beſides, they received daily accounts of the clemency with which he behaved to his priſoners. Indeed, they were inclined to deſert to him or any other, ſo they could but get rid of Demetrius. They therefore began to go off privately and in ſmall parties at firſt, but afterwards there was nothing but open diſorder and mutiny in the camp. At laſt ſome of them had the aſſurance to go to Demetrius, and bid him provide for himſelf by flight, for "the Macedonians," they told him, "were tired of fighting to maintain his "luxury." Theſe expreſſions appeared modeſt in compariſon of the rude behaviour of others. He therefore entered his tent not like a real king but a theatrical one, and having quitted his royal robe for a black one, privately withdrew. As multitudes were

were pillaging his tent, who not only tore it to pieces but fought for the plunder, Pyrrhus made his appearance; upon which, the tumult inſtantly ceaſed, and the whole army ſubmitted to him. Lyſimachus and he then divided Macedonia between them, which Demetrius had held without diſturbance for ſeven years.

Demetrius thus fallen from the pinnacle of power, fled to Caſſandria, where his wife Phila was. Nothing could equal her ſorrow on this occaſion. She could not bear to ſee the unfortunate Demetrius once more a private man and an exile! In her deſpair, therefore, and deteſtation of fortune, who was always more conſtant to him in her viſits of adverſity than proſperity, ſhe took poiſon.

Demetrius, however, reſolved to gather up the remains of his wreck; for which purpoſe he repaired to Greece, and collected ſuch of his friends and officers as he found there. Menelaus, in one of the tragedies of Sophocles, gives this picture of his own fortune:

I move on Fortune's rapid wheel: my lot
For ever changing like the changeful moon,
That each night varies; hardly now perceiv'd;
And now ſhe ſhews her bright horn; by degrees
She fills her orb with light; but when ſhe reigns
In all her pride, ſhe then begins once more
To waſte her glories, 'till diſſolv'd and loſt,
She ſinks again to darkneſs.——

But this picture is more applicable to Demetrius, in his increaſe and wane, his ſplendor and obſcurity. His glory ſeemed now entirely eclipſed and extinguiſhed, and yet it broke out again, and ſhone with new ſplendor. Freſh forces came in, and gradually filled up the meaſure of his hopes. This was the firſt time he addreſſed the cities as a private man, and without any of the enſigns of royalty. Somebody ſeeing him at Thebes in this condition, applied to him,

him, with propriety enough, thoſe verſes of Euripides,

To Dirce's fountain, and Iſmenus' ſhore
In mortal form he moves, a God no more.

When he had got into the high road of hope again, and had once more a reſpectable force and form of royalty about him, he reſtored the Thebans their ancient government and laws. At the ſame time the Athenians abandoned his intereſts, and razing out of their regiſters the name of Diphilus, who was then prieſt of the Gods protectors, ordered Archons to be appointed again, according to ancient cuſtom. They likewiſe ſent for Pyrrhus from Macedonia, becauſe they ſaw Demetrius grown ſtronger than they expected. Demetrius, greatly enraged, marched immediately to attack them, and laid ſtrong ſiege to the city. But Crates the philoſopher, a man of great reputation and authority, being ſent out to him by the people, partly by his intreaties for the Athenians, and partly by repreſenting to him that his intereſt laid another way, prevailed on Demetrius to raiſe the ſiege. After this, he collected all his ſhips, embarked his army which conſiſted of eleven thouſand foot beſide cavalry, and ſailed to Aſia, in hopes of drawing Caria and Lydia over from Lyſimachus. Eurydice, the ſiſter of Phila, received him at Miletus, having brought with her Ptolemais, a daughter ſhe had by Ptolemy, who had formerly been promiſed him upon the application of Seleucus. Demetrius married her with the free conſent of Eurydice, and ſoon after attempted the cities in that quarter; many of them opened their gates to him, and many others he took by force. Among the latter was Sardis. Some of the officers of Lyſimachus likewiſe deſerted to him, and brought ſufficient appointments of money and troops with them. But, as Agathocles the ſon of Lyſimachus came againſt him with a great army, he marched to Phrygia, with

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an intention to seize Armenia, and then to try Media and the Upper Provinces, which might afford him many places of retreat upon occasion. Agathocles followed him close, and as he found Demetrius superior in all the skirmishes that he ventured upon, he betook himself to cutting off his convoys. This distressed him not a little; and, what was another disagreeable circumstance, his soldiers suspected that he designed to lead them into Armenia and Media.

The famine increased every day; and by mistaking the fords of the river Lycus he had a great number of men swept away with the stream. Yet amidst all their distress his troops were capable of jesting. One of them wrote upon the door of his tent the beginning of the tragedy of Oedipus with a small alteration,

Thou offspring of the blind old king Antigonus,
Where dost thou lead us * ?

Pestilence at last followed the famine, as it commonly happens when people are under a necessity of eating any thing however unwholesome, so that finding he had lost in all not less than eight thousand men, he turned back with the rest. When he came down to Tarsus, he was desirous of sparing the country, because it belonged to Seleucus, and he did not think proper to give him any pretence to declare against him. But perceiving that it was impossible for his troops to avoid taking something, when they were reduced to such extremities, and that Agathocles had fortified the passes of Mount Taurus, he wrote a letter to Seleucus containing a long and moving detail of his misfortune, and concluding with strong intreaties that he would take compassion on a prince who was allied to him, and whose sufferings were

* The alteration was very small indeed, for it was only changing Αντιγονη into Αντιγονου. In the tragedy it is

Τεκνον τυφλου γεροντος, Αντιγονη, τινας
Χωρους ἀφιγμεθα———

The closeness of the parody is what Plutarch calls the jest.

were ſuch as even an enemy might be affected with.

Seleucus was touched with pity, and ſent orders to his lieutenants in thoſe parts to ſupply Demetrius with every thing ſuitable to the ſtate of a king, and his army with ſufficient proviſions. But Patrocles, who was a man of underſtanding and a faithful friend to Seleucus, went to that prince and repreſented to him, "That the expence of furniſhing the troops of "Demetrius with proviſions, was a thing of ſmall "importance, in compariſon of ſuffering Demetrius "himſelf to remain in the country, who was always "one of the moſt violent and enterprizing princes "in the world, and now was in ſuch deſperate cir- "cumſtances as might put even thoſe of the mildeſt "diſpoſitions on bold and unjuſt attempts."

Upon theſe repreſentations Seleucus marched into Cilicia with a great army. Demetrius, aſtoniſhed and terrified at the ſudden change in Seleucus, withdrew to the ſtrongeſt poſts he could find upon Mount Taurus, and ſent a meſſage to him, begging "that he "might be ſuffered to make a conqueſt of ſome free "nations of barbarians, and by ſettling amongſt "them as their king, put a period to his wander- "ings. If this could not be granted, he hoped Se- "leucus would at leaſt permit him to winter in that "country, and not, by driving him out naked and in "want of every thing, expoſe him in that condition "to his enemies."

As all theſe propoſals had a ſuſpicious appearance to Seleucus, he made anſwer "that he might, if he "pleaſed, ſpend two months of the winter in Ca- "taonia, if he ſent him his principal friends as hoſ- "tages." But at the ſame time he ſecured the paſſes into Syria. Demetrius, thus ſurrounded like a wild beaſt in the toils, was under a neceſſity of having recourſe to violence. He therefore ravaged the country, and had the advantage of Seleucus whenever he attacked him. Seleucus once beſet him with his armed

armed chariots, and yet he broke through them, and put his enemy to the route. After this he diſlodged the corps that was to defend the heights on the ſide of Syria, and made himſelf maſter of the paſſages.

Elevated with this ſucceſs, and finding the courage of his men reſtored, he prepared to fight a deciſive battle with Seleucus. That prince was now in great perplexity. He had rejected the ſuccours offered him by Lyſimachus, for want of confidence in his honour and from an apprehenſion of his deſigns; and he was loth to try his ſtrength with Demetrius, becauſe he dreaded his deſperate courage, as well as his uſual change of fortune, which often raiſed him from great miſery to the ſummit of power. In the mean time Demetrius was ſeized with a fit of ſickneſs, which greatly impaired his perſonal vigour, and entirely ruined his affairs: for part of his men went over to the enemy, and part left their colours and diſperſed. In forty days he recovered with great difficulty, and getting under march with the remains of his army, made a feint of moving towards Cilicia. But afterwards in the night he decamped without ſound of trumpet, and taking the contrary way, croſſed Mount Amanus, and ravaged the country on the other ſide, as far as Cyrrheſtica.

Seleucus followed, and encamped very near him. Demetrius then put his army in motion in the night, in hopes of ſurpriſing him. Seleucus was retired to reſt; and in all probability his enemy would have ſucceeded, had not ſome deſerters informed him of his danger juſt time enough for him to put himſelf in a poſture of defence. Upon this he ſtarted up in great conſternation, and ordered the trumpets to ſound an alarm; and as he put on his ſandals, he ſaid to his friends, "What a terrible wild beaſt are we "engaged with!" Demetrius perceiving by the tumult in the enemy's camp that his ſcheme was diſcovered, retired as faſt as poſſible.

At

At break of day Seleucus offered him battle, when Demetrius ordering one of his officers to take care of one wing, put himſelf at the head of the other, and made ſome impreſſion upon the enemy. Mean time Seleucus quitting his horſe, and laying aſide his helmet, preſented himſelf to Demetrius's hired troops with only his buckler in his hand; exhorting them to come over to him, and to be convinced at laſt that it was to ſpare them, not Demetrius, that he had been ſo long about the war. Upon which, they all ſaluted him king, and ranged themſelves under his banner.

Demetrius, though of all the changes he had experienced he thought this the moſt terrible, yet imagining that he might extricate himſelf from this diſtreſs as well as the reſt, fled to the paſſes of Mount Amanus; and gaining a thick wood, waited there for the night, with a few friends and attendants who followed his fortune. His intention was, if poſſible, to take the way to Caunus, where he hoped to find his fleet, and from thence to make his eſcape by ſea; but knowing he had not proviſions even for that day, he ſought for ſome other expedient. Afterwards one of his friends, named Soſigenes, arrived with four hundred pieces of gold in his purſe; with the aſſiſtance of which money they hoped to reach the ſea. Accordingly when night came, they attempted to paſs the heights; but finding a number of fires lighted there by the enemy, they deſpaired of ſucceeding that way, and returned to their former retreat, but neither with their whole company (for ſome had gone off) nor with the ſame ſpirits. One of them venturing to tell him, that he thought it was beſt for him to ſurrender himſelf to Seleucus, Demetrius drew his ſword to kill himſelf; but his friends interpoſed, and conſoling him in the beſt manner they could, perſuaded him to follow his advice: in conſequence of which he ſent to Seleucus, and yielded himſelf to his diſcretion.

Upon this news, Seleucus ſaid to thoſe about him, "It is not the good fortune of Demetrius, but mine, "that now ſaves him; and that adds to other fa- "vours this opportunity of teſtifying my humanity." Then calling the officers of his houſhold, he ordered them to pitch a royal tent, and to provide every thing elſe for his reception and entertainment in the moſt magnificent manner. As there happened to be in the ſervice of Seleucus one Apollonides, who was an old acquaintance of Demetrius, he immediately ſent that perſon to him, that he might be more at eaſe, and come with the greater confidence, as to a ſon-in-law and a friend.

On the diſcovery of this favourable diſpoſition of Seleucus towards him, at firſt a few, and afterwards a great number of the courtiers waited on Demetrius, and ſtrove which ſhould pay him the moſt reſpect; for it was expected that his intereſt with Seleucus would ſoon be the beſt in the kingdom. But theſe compliments turned the compaſſion which his diſtreſs had excited into jealouſy, and gave occaſion to the envious and malevolent to divert the ſtream of the king's humanity from him, by alarming him with apprehenſions of no inſenſible change, but of the greateſt commotions in his army on the ſight of Demetrius.

Apollonides was now come to Demetrius with great ſatisfaction; and others who followed to pay their court brought extraordinary accounts of the kind-neſs of Seleucus; inſomuch that Demetrius, though in the firſt ſhock of his misfortune, he had thought it a great diſgrace to ſurrender himſelf, was now diſ-pleaſed at his averſion to that ſtep. Such confidence had he in the hopes they held out to him; when Pauſanias coming with a party of horſe and foot, to the number of a thouſand, ſuddenly ſurrounded him, and drove away ſuch as he found inclined to favour his cauſe. After he had thus ſeized his perſon, in-ſtead of conducting him to the preſence of Seleucus,

he carried him to the Syrian Cherſoneſus. There he was kept, indeed, under a ſtrong guard, but Seleucus ſent him a ſufficient equipage, and ſupplied him with money and a table ſuitable to his rank. He had alſo places of exerciſe and walks worthy of a king; his parks were well ſtored with game; and ſuch of his friends as had accompanied him in his flight, were permitted to attend him. Seleucus, too, had the complaiſance often to ſend ſome of his people with kind and encouraging meſſages, intimating that as ſoon as Antiochus and Stratonice ſhould arrive, terms of accommodation would be hit upon, and he would obtain his liberty.

Under this misfortune, Demetrius wrote to his ſon, and to his officers and friends in Athens and Corinth, deſiring them to truſt neither his handwriting nor his ſeal, but to act as if he were dead, and to keep the cities and all his remaining eſtates for Antigonus. When the young prince was informed of his father's confinement, he was extremely concerned at it; he put on mourning, and wrote not only to the other kings, but to Seleucus himſelf; offering, on condition that his father were ſet free, to cede all the poſſeſſions they had left, and deliver himſelf up as an hoſtage. Many cities and princes joined in the requeſt; but Lyſimachus was not of the number. On the contrary, he offered Seleucus a large ſum of money to induce him to put Demetrius to death. Seleucus, who looked upon him in an indifferent light before, abhorred him as a villain for this propoſal; and only waited for the arrival of Antiochus and Stratonice, to make them the compliment of reſtoring Demetrius to his liberty.

Demetrius, who at firſt ſupported his misfortune with patience, by cuſtom learned to ſubmit to it with a ſtill better grace. For ſome time he took the exerciſes of hunting and running; but he left them by degrees, and ſunk into indolence and inactivity. Afterwards, he took to drinking and play, and ſpent

moſt of his time in that kind of diſſipation. Whether it was to put off the thoughts of his preſent condition, which he could not bear in his ſober hours, and to drown reflexion in the bowl; or whether he was ſenſible at laſt that this was the ſort of life which, though originally the object of his deſires, he had idly wandered from to follow the dictates of an abſurd ambition. Perhaps he conſidered that he had given himſelf and others infinite trouble, by ſeeking with fleets and armies that happineſs, which he found, when he leaſt expected it, in eaſe, indulgence and repoſe. For what other end does the wretched vanity of kings propoſe to itſelf in all their wars and dangers, but to quit the paths of virtue and honour for thoſe of luxury and pleaſure; the ſure conſequence of their not knowing what real pleaſure and true enjoyment are.

Demetrius, after three years confinement in the Cherſoneſus, fell into a diſtemper occaſioned by idleneſs and exceſs, which carried him off at the age of fifty-four. Seleucus was ſeverely cenſured, and indeed was much concerned himſelf, for his unjuſt ſuſpicions of Demetrius; whereas he ſhould have followed the example of Dromichaetes, who, though a Thracian and barbarian, had treated Lyſimachus, when his priſoner, with all the generoſity that became a king.

There was ſomething of a theatrical pomp even in the funeral of Demetrius. For Antigonus being informed that they were bringing his father's aſhes to Greece, went to meet them with his whole fleet; and finding them near the Iſles of the Ægean ſea, he took the urn, which was of ſolid gold, on board the admiral galley. The cities at which they touched ſent crowns to adorn the urn, and perſons in mourning to aſſiſt at the funeral ſolemnity.

When the fleet approached Corinth, the urn was ſeen in a conſpicuous poſition upon the ſtern of the veſſel, adorned with a purple robe and a diadem, and

attended by a company of young men well armed. Xenophantus, a moſt celebrated performer on the flute, ſate by the urn, and played a ſolemn air. The oars kept time with the notes, and accompanied them with a melancholy ſound, like that of mourners in a funeral proceſſion, beating their breaſts in concert with the muſic. But it was the mournful appearance and the tears of Antigonus that excited the greateſt compaſſion amongſt the people as they paſſed. After the Corinthians had beſtowed crowns and all due honours upon the remains, Antigonus carried them to Demetrius, and depoſited them there. This was a city called after the deceaſed, which he had peopled from the little towns about Jolcos.

Demetrius left behind him ſeveral children; Antigonus and Stratonice, whom he had by his wife Phila; two ſons of the name of Demetrius; one ſurnamed *The Slender*, by an Illyrian woman; the other was by Ptolemais, and came to be king of Cyrene. By Deidamia he had Alexander, who took up his reſidence in Ægypt; and by his laſt wife Eurydice he is ſaid to have had a ſon named Corrabus. His poſterity enjoyed the throne in continued ſucceſſion down to Perſeus * the laſt king of Macedon, in whoſe time the Romans ſubdued that country. Thus having gone through the Macedonian drama, it is time that we bring the Roman upon the ſtage.

* About one hundred and ſixteen years.

ANTONY.

THE grandfather of Mark Antony was Antony the orator, who followed the faction of Sylla, and was put to death by Marius *. His father was Antony, ſurnamed the Cretan, a man of no figure or conſequence in the political world †, but diſtinguiſhed for his integrity, benevolence, and liberality; of which the following little circumſtance is a ſufficient proof. His fortune was not large; and his wife, therefore, very prudently laid ſome reſtraint on his munificent diſpoſition. An acquaintance of his, who was under ſome pecuniary difficulties, applied to him for aſſiſtance. Antony, having no money at command, ordered his boy to bring him a ſilver baſon full of water, under a pretence of ſhaving. After the boy was diſmiſſed, he gave the baſon to his friend, and bade him make what uſe of it he thought proper. The diſappearance of the baſon occaſioned no ſmall commotion in the family; and Antony finding his wife prepared to take a ſevere account of the ſervants, begged her pardon, and told her the truth.

His wife's name was Julia. She was of the family of the Caeſars, and a woman of diſtinguiſhed merit and modeſty. Under her auſpices, Mark Antony received his education; when, after the death of

* Valerius Maximus ſays, that Antony the orator was put to death by the joint order of Cinna and Marius. But Cicero mentions Cinna as the immediate cauſe. Cic. 1. Philip.

† Nevertheleſs, he conducted the war in Crete, and from thence was called *Cretenſis*.

of his father, ſhe married Cornelius Lentulus, whom Cicero put to death for engaging in the conſpiracy of Catiline. This was the origin of that laſting enmity which ſubſiſted between Cicero and Antony. The latter affirmed, that his mother Julia was even obliged to beg the body, of Cicero's wife, for interment. But this is not true; for none of thoſe who ſuffered on the ſame occaſion, under Cicero, were refuſed this privilege. Antony was engaging in his perſon, and was unfortunate enough to fall into the good graces and friendſhip of Curio, a man who was devoted to every ſpecies of licentiouſneſs, and who, to render Antony the more dependent on him, led him into all the exceſſes of indulging in wine and women, and all the expences that ſuch indulgencies are attended with. Of courſe, he was ſoon deeply involved in debt, and owed at leaſt two hundred and fifty talents, while he was a very young man. Curio was bound for the payment of this money; and his father being informed of it, baniſhed Antony from his houſe. Thus diſmiſſed, he attached himſelf to Clodius, that peſtilent and audacious tribune, who threw the ſtate into ſuch dreadful diſorder; till weary of his mad meaſures, and fearful of his opponents, he paſſed into Greece, where he employed himſelf in military exerciſes, and the ſtudy of eloquence. The Aſiatic ſtile * was then much in vogue, and Antony fell naturally into it; for it was correſpondent with his manners, which were vain, pompous, inſolent, and aſſuming.

In Greece he received an invitation from Gabinius the proconſul, to make a campaign with him in Syria †. This invitation he refuſed to accept, as a

* Cicero, in his *Brutus*, mentions two ſorts of ſtile called the *Aſiatic*. *Unum ſententioſum et argutum, ſententiis non tam gravibus et ſeveris quam concinnis et venuſtis. Aliud autem genus eſt non tam ſententiis frequentatum quam verbis volucre, atque incitatum; quali nunc eſt Aſia tota, nec flumine ſolum orationis, ſed etiam exornato et faceto genere verborum.*

† Aulus Gabinius was conſul in the year of Rome 695; and the year following he went into Syria.

private man; but being appointed to the command of the cavalry, he attended him. His firſt operation was againſt Ariſtobulus, who had excited the Jews to revolt. He was the firſt who ſcaled the wall; and this he did in the higheſt part. He drove Ariſtobulus from all his forts; and, afterwards, with a handful of men, defeated his numerous army in a pitched battle. Moſt of the enemy were ſlain, and Ariſtobulus and his ſon were taken priſoners. Upon the concluſion of this war, Gabinius was ſollicited by Ptolemy to carry his arms into Egypt, and reſtore him to his kingdom *. The reward of this ſervice was to be ten thouſand talents. Moſt of the officers diſapproved of the expedition; and Gabinius himſelf did not readily enter into it, though the money pleaded ſtrongly in its behalf. Antony, however, ambitious of great enterprizes, and vain of gratifying a ſuppliant king, uſed every means to draw Gabinius into the ſervice, and prevailed. It was the general opinion that the march to Peluſium was more dangerous than the war that was to follow. For they were to paſs over a ſandy and unwatered country, by the filthy marſh of Serbonis, whoſe ſtagnant ooze the Egyptians call the exhalations of Typhon; though it is probably no more than the drainings of the red ſea, which is there ſeparated from the Mediterranean only by a ſmall neck of land.

Antony being ordered thither with the cavalry, not only ſeized the ſtreights, but took the large city of Peluſium, and made the garriſon priſoners. By this operation he at once opened a ſecure paſſage for the army, and a fair proſpect of victory for their general. The ſame love of glory which was ſo ſerviceable to his own party, was, on this occaſion, advantageous to the enemy. For when Ptolemy entered Peluſium, in the rage of revenge, he would have put the citizens to death, but Antony reſolutely oppoſed it, and prevented him from executing his horrid

* Dion, L. xxxix.

horrid purpoſe. In the ſeveral actions where he was concerned, he gave diſtinguiſhed proofs of his conduct and valour; but eſpecially in that manœuvre where, by wheeling about and attacking the enemy in the rear, he enabled thoſe who charged in front to gain a complete victory. For this action he received ſuitable honours and rewards.

His humane care of the body of Archelaus, who fell in the battle, was taken notice of even by the common men. He had been his intimate friend, and connected with him in the rights of hoſpitality; and though he was obliged, by his duty, to oppoſe him in the field, he no ſooner heard that he was fallen, than he ordered ſearch to be made for his body, and interred it with regal magnificence. This conduct made him reſpected in Alexandria, and admired by the Romans.

Antony had a noble dignity of countenance, a graceful length of beard, a large forehead, an aquiline noſe; and, upon the whole, the ſame manly aſpect that we ſee in the pictures and ſtatues of Hercules. There was, indeed, an ancient tradition that his family was deſcended from Hercules, by a ſon of his called Anteon; and it is no wonder if Antony ſought to confirm this opinion, by affecting to reſemble him in his air and his dreſs. Thus, when he appeared in public, he wore his veſt girt on the hips, a large ſword, and over all a coarſe mantle. That kind of conduct, which would ſeem diſagreeable to others, rendered him the darling of the army. He talked with the ſoldiers in their own ſwaggering and ribbald ſtrain, eat and drank with them in public, and would ſtand to take his victuals at their common table. He was pleaſant on the ſubject of his amours, ready in aſſiſting the intrigues of others, and eaſy under the raillery to which he was ſubjected by his own. His liberality to the ſoldiers, and to his friends, was the firſt foundation of his advancement, and continued to ſupport him in that power which he was otherwiſe weaken-

weakening by a thouſand irregularities. One inſtance of his liberality I muſt mention. He had ordered two hundred and fifty thouſand drachmas (which the Romans call *decies)* to be given to one of his friends. His ſteward, who was ſtartled at the extravagance of the ſum, laid the ſilver in a heap, that he might ſee it as he paſſed. He ſaw it, and enquired what it was for. "It is the ſum," anſwered the ſteward, "that you ordered for a preſent." Antony perceived his envious deſign, and, to mortify him ſtill more, ſaid coolly, "I really thought the ſum would "have made a better figure. 'Tis too little: let it "be doubled *." This, however, was in the latter part of his life.

Rome was divided into two parties. Pompey was with the ſenate. The people were for bringing Caeſar with his army out of Gaul. Curio, the friend of Antony, who had changed ſides, and joined Caeſar, brought Antony likewiſe over to his intereſt. The influence he had obtained by his eloquence, and by that profuſion of money in which he was ſupported by Caeſar, enabled him to make Antony tribune of the people, and afterwards augur. Antony was no ſooner in power than Caeſar found the advantage of his ſervices. In the firſt place, he oppoſed the conſul Marcellus, whoſe deſign was to give Pompey the command of the old legions, and, at the ſame time, to empower him to raiſe new ones. On this occaſion he obtained a decree, that the forces then on foot ſhould be ſent into Syria, and join Bibulus in carrying on the war againſt the Parthians; and that none ſhould give in their names to ſerve under Pompey. On another occaſion, when the ſenate would neither receive Caeſar's letters, nor ſuffer them to be read, he read them by virtue of his tribunitial authority; and the requeſts of Caeſar appearing moderate and reaſonable, by this means he brought over many to his intereſt. Two queſtions were at length put in the

* The ſame ſtory is told of Alexander.

the ſenate; one, whether Pompey ſhould diſmiſs his army; the other, whether Caeſar ſhould give up his. There were but a few votes for the former; a large majority for the latter. Then Antony ſtood up, and put the queſtion, Whether both Caeſar and Pompey ſhould not diſmiſs their armies. This motion was received with great acclamations, and Antony was applauded, and deſired to put it to the vote. This being oppoſed by the conſuls, the friends of Caeſar made other propoſals, which ſeemed by no means unreaſonable: But they were overruled by Cato *; and Antony was commanded by Lentulus the conſul, to leave the houſe. He left them with bitter execrations; and diſguiſing himſelf like a ſervant, accompanied only by Quintus Caſſius, he hired a carriage, and went immediately to Caeſar. As ſoon as they arrived, they exclaimed that nothing was conducted at Rome, according to order or law, that even the tribunes were refuſed the privilege of ſpeaking, and whoever would riſe in defence of the right, muſt be expelled, and expoſed to perſonal danger.

Caeſar, upon this, marched his army into Italy; and hence it was obſerved by Cicero in his Philippics, that Antony was no leſs the cauſe of the civil war in Rome, than Helen had been of the Trojan war †. There is, however, but little truth in this aſſertion. Caeſar was not ſo much a ſlave to the impulſe of reſentment as to enter on ſo deſperate a meaſure, if it had not been premeditated. Nor would he have carried war into the bowels of his country, merely becauſe he ſaw Antony and Caſſius flying to him in a mean dreſs and a hired carriage. At the ſame time, theſe things might give ſome colour to the commencement of thoſe hoſtilities which had been long determined.

* Cicero aſſerts, that Antony was the immediate cauſe of the civil war; but if he could have laid down his prejudice, he might have diſcovered a more immediate cauſe in the impolitic reſentment of Cato.

† In the ſecond Philippic. *Ut Helena Trojanis, ſic iſte huic reipublicæ cauſa belli; cauſa peſtis atque exitii fuit.*

determined. Caeſar's motive was the ſame which had before driven Alexander and Cyrus over the ruins of human kind, the inſatiable luſt of empire, the frantic ambition of being the firſt man upon earth, which he knew he could not be, while Pompey was yet alive.

As ſoon as he was arrived at Rome, and had driven Pompey out of Italy, his firſt deſign was to attack his legions in Spain, and having a fleet in readineſs, to go afterwards in purſuit of Pompey himſelf, while, in the mean time, Rome was left to the government of Lepidus the praetor, and Italy and the army to the command of Antony the tribune. Antony, by the ſociability of his diſpoſition, ſoon made himſelf agreeable to the ſoldiers. For he eat and drank with them, and made them preſents to the utmoſt of his ability. To others, his conduct was leſs acceptable. He was too indolent to attend to the cauſe of the injured, too violent and too impatient when he was applied to on buſineſs, and infamous for his adulteries. In ſhort, though there was nothing tyrannical in the government of Caeſar, it was rendered odious by the ill conduct of his friends; and as Antony had the greateſt ſhare of the power, ſo he bore the greateſt part of the blame. Caeſar, notwithſtanding, on his return from Spain, connived at his irregularities; and, indeed, in the military appointment he had given him, he had not iudged improperly; for Antony was a brave, ſkilful, and active general.

Caeſar embarked at Brunduſium, ſailed over the Ionian ſea with a ſmall number of troops, and ſent back the fleet, with orders that Antony and Gabinius ſhould put the army on board, and proceed as faſt as poſſible to Macedonia. Gabinius was afraid of the ſea, for it was winter, and the paſſage was dangerous. He, therefore, marched his forces a long way round by land. Antony, on the other hand, being apprehenſive that Caeſar might be ſurrounded and

and overcome by his enemies, beat off Libo, who lay at anchor in the mouth of the haven of Brundusium. By ſending out ſeveral ſmall veſſels, he encompaſſed Libo's galleys ſeparately, and obliged them to retire. By this means he found an opportunity to embark about twenty thouſand foot, and eight hundred horſe; and with theſe he ſet ſail. The enemy diſcovered and made up to him; but he eſcaped, by favour of a ſtrong gale from the ſouth, which made the ſea ſo rough that the purſuers could not reach him. The ſame wind, however, at firſt drove him upon a rocky ſhore, on which the ſea bore ſo hard, that there appeared no hope of eſcaping ſhipwreck: But after a little, it turned to the ſouth-weſt, and blowing from land to the main ſea, Antony ſailed in ſafety, with the ſatisfaction of ſeeing the wrecks of the enemy's fleet ſcattered along the coaſt. The ſtorm had driven their ſhips upon the rocks, and many of them went to pieces. Antony made his advantage of this diſaſter; for he took ſeveral priſoners, and a conſiderable booty. He likewiſe made himſelf maſter of the town of Liſſus; and, by the ſeaſonable arrival of his reinforcement, the affairs of Caeſar wore a more promiſing aſpect.

Antony diſtinguiſhed himſelf in every battle that was fought. Twice he ſtopped the army in its flight, brought them back to the charge, and gained the victory; ſo that, in point of military reputation, he was inferior only to Caeſar. What opinion Caeſar had of his abilities appeared in the laſt deciſive battle at Pharſalia. He led the right wing himſelf, and gave the left to Antony, as to the ableſt of his officers. After this battle, Caeſar being appointed dictator, went in purſuit of Pompey, and ſent Antony to Rome in character of general of the horſe. This officer is next in power to the dictator, and in his abſence he commands alone. For, after the election of a dictator, all other magiſtrates, the tribunes

tribunes only excepted, are diveſted of their authority.

Dolabella, one of the tribunes, a young man who was fond of innovations, propoſed a law for aboliſhing debts, and ſollicited his friend Antony, who was ever ready to gratify the people, to join him in this meaſure. On the other hand, Aſinius and Trebellius diſſuaded him from it. Antony happened, at this time, to ſuſpect a criminal connection between Dolabella and his wife, whom, on that account, he diſmiſſed, though ſhe was his firſt couſin, and daughter to Caius Antonius, who had been collegue with Cicero. In conſequence of this, he joined Aſinius, and oppoſed Dolabella. The latter had taken poſſeſſion of the *Forum*, with a deſign to paſs his law by force; and Antony being ordered by the ſenate to repel force with force, attacked him, killed ſeveral of his men, and loſt ſome of his own.

By this action he forfeited the favour of the people: But this was not the only thing that rendered him obnoxious; for men of ſenſe and virtue, as Cicero obſerves, could not but condemn his nocturnal revels, his enormous extravagance, his ſcandalous lewdneſs, his ſleeping in the day, his walks to carry off the qualms of debauchery, and his entertainments on the marriages of players and buffoons. It is ſaid that after drinking all night at the wedding of Hippias the player, he was ſummoned in the morning upon buſineſs to the *Forum*, when, through a little too much repletion, he was unfortunate enough, in the preſence of the people, to return part of his evening fare by the way it had entered; and one of his friends received it in his gown. Sergius the player had the greateſt intereſt with him: And Cytheris *, a lady of the ſame profeſſion, had the management of his heart. She attended him in his excurſions; and her equipage was by no means inferior to his mother's. The people were offended at the pomp of

* Cic. Ep. ad Att. L. x. Ep. 10.

of his travelling plate, which was more fit for the ornament of a triumph; at his erecting tents on the road, by groves and rivers, for the moſt luxurious dinners; at his chariots drawn by lions; and at his lodging his ladies of pleaſure, and female muſicians, in the houſes of modeſt and ſober people. This diſſatisfaction at the conduct of Antony could not but be increaſed by the comparative view of Caeſar. While the latter was ſupporting the fatigues of a military life, the former was indulging himſelf in all the diſſipation of luxury; and, by means of his delegated power, inſulting the citizens.

This conduct occaſioned a variety of diſturbances in Rome, and gave the ſoldiers an opportunity to abuſe and plunder the people. Therefore, when Caeſar returned to Rome, he pardoned Dolabella; and being created conſul the third time, he took Lepidus, and not Antony, for his collegue. Antony purchaſed Pompey's houſe; but, when he was required to make the payment, he expreſſed himſelf in very angry terms; and this, he tells us, was the reaſon why he would not go with Caeſar into Africa. His former ſervices he thought inſufficiently repaid. Caeſar, however, by his diſapprobation of Antony's conduct, ſeems to have thrown ſome reſtraint on his diſſolute manner of life. He now took it into his head to marry, and made choice of Fulvia, the widow of the ſeditious Clodius, a woman by no means adapted to domeſtic employments, nor even contented with ruling her huſband as a private man. Fulvia's ambition was to govern thoſe that governed, and to command the leaders of armies. It was to Fulvia, therefore, that Cleopatra was obliged for teaching Antony due ſubmiſſion to female authority. He had gone through ſuch a courſe of diſcipline, as made him perfectly tractable when he came into her hands.

He endeavoured, however, to amuſe the violent ſpirit of Fulvia by many whimſical and pleaſant follies.

follies. When Caeſar, after his ſucceſs in Spain, was on his return to Rome, Antony, amongſt others, went to meet him; but a report prevailing that Caeſar was killed, and that the enemy was marching into Italy, he returned immediately to Rome, and, in the diſguiſe of a ſlave, went to his houſe by night, pretending that he had letters from Antony to Fulvia. He was introduced to her with his head muffled up; and, before ſhe received the letter, ſhe aſked, with impatience, if Antony were well. He preſented the letter to her in ſilence; and, while ſhe was opening it, he threw his arms around her neck, and kiſſed her. We mention this as one inſtance, out of many, of his pleaſantries.

When Caeſar returned from Spain, moſt of the principal citizens went ſome days journey to meet him; but Pompey met with the moſt diſtinguiſhed reception, and had the honour to ride with Caeſar in the ſame chariot. After them came Brutus Albinus, and Octavius the ſon of Caeſar's niece, who was afterwards called Auguſtus Caeſar, and for many years was emperor of Rome. Caeſar being created conſul for the fifth time, choſe Antony for his colleague; but as he intended to quit the conſulſhip in favour of Dolabella, he acquainted the ſenate with his reſolution. Antony, notwithſtanding, oppoſed this meaſure, and loaded Dolabella with the moſt flagrant reproaches. Dolabella did not fail to return the abuſe; and Caeſar, offended at their indecent behaviour, put off the affair till another time. When it was again propoſed, Antony inſiſted that the omens from the flight of birds were againſt the meaſure *. Thus Caeſar was obliged to give up Dolabella, who was not a little mortified by his diſappointment. It appears, however, that Caeſar had as little regard for Dolabella as he had for Antony: For when both were accuſed of deſigns againſt him, he ſaid, contemptuouſly enough, "It is not theſe fat "ſleek

* He had this power by virtue of his office as augur.

"ſleek fellows I am afraid of, but the pale and the "lean." By whom he meant Brutus and Caſſius, who afterwards put him to death. Antony, without intending it, gave them a pretence for that undertaking. When the Romans were celebrating the Lupercalia, Caeſar, in a triumphal habit, ſat on the *roſtrum* to ſee the race. On this occaſion, many of the young nobility, and the magiſtracy, anointed with oil, and having white thongs in their hands, run about and ſtrike, as in ſport, every one they meet. Antony was of the number; but regardleſs of the ceremonies of the inſtitution, he took a garland of laurel, and wreathing it in a diadem, ran to the *roſtrum*, where, being lifted up by his companions, he would have placed it on the head of Caeſar, intimating thereby, the conveyance of regal power. Caeſar, however, ſeemed to decline the offer, and was therefore applauded by the people. Antony perſiſted in his deſign; and for ſome time there was a conteſt between them, while he that offered the diadem had the applauſe of his friends, and he that refuſed it the acclamations of the multitude. Thus, what is ſingular enough, while the Romans endured every thing that regal power could impoſe, they dreaded the name of king as deſtructive of their liberty. Caeſar was much concerned at this tranſaction; and, uncovering his neck, he offered his life to any one that would take it. At length the diadem was placed on one of his ſtatues, but the tribunes took it off *; upon which the people followed them home with great acclamations. Afterwards, however, Caeſar ſhewed that he reſented this, by turning thoſe tribunes out of office. The enterprize of Brutus and Caſſius derived ſtrength

* *Tribuni plebis, Epidius Marcellus, caeſetiuſque Flavus coronae faſciam detrahi, hominemque duci in vincula juſſiſſent, dolens ſeu parum proſperè motam regni mentionem, ſive, ut ferebat, ereptam ſibi gloriam recuſandi, tribunos graviter increpitos poteſtate privavit.* SUET.

and encouragement from theſe circumſtances. To the reſt of their friends, whom they had ſelected for the purpoſe, they wanted to draw over Antony. Trebonius only objected to him. He informed them, that, in their journey to meet Caeſar, he had been generally with him; that he had ſounded him on this buſineſs by hints, which, though cautious, were intelligible; and that he always expreſſed his diſapprobation, though he never betrayed the ſecret. Upon this, it was propoſed that Antony ſhould fall at the ſame time with Caeſar; but Brutus oppoſed it. An action, undertaken in ſupport of juſtice and the laws, he very properly thought, ſhould have nothing unjuſt attending it. Of Antony, however, they were afraid, both in reſpect of his perſonal valour, and the influence of his office; and it was agreed, that, when Caeſar was in the houſe, and they were on the point of executing their purpoſe, Antony ſhould be amuſed without by ſome pretended diſcourſe of buſineſs.

When, in conſequence of theſe meaſures, Caeſar was ſlain, Antony abſconded in the diſguiſe of a ſlave; but after he found that the conſpirators were aſſembled in the capitol, and had no further deſigns of maſſacre, he invited them to come down, and ſent his ſon to them as an hoſtage. That night Caſſius ſupped with him, and Brutus with Lepidus. The day following he aſſembled the ſenate, when he propoſed that an act of amneſty ſhould be paſſed; and that provinces ſhould be aſſigned to Brutus and Caſſius. The ſenate confirmed this, and, at the ſame time, ratified the acts of Caeſar. Thus Antony acquitted himſelf in this difficult affair with the higheſt reputation; and, by ſaving Rome from a civil war, he proved himſelf a very able and valuable politician. But the intoxication of glory drew him off from theſe wiſe and moderate counſels; and, from his influence with the people, he felt that, if Brutus were borne down, he ſhould be the firſt man

in Rome. With this view, when Caeſar's body was expoſed in the *forum*, he undertook the cuſtomary funeral oration; and when he found the people affected with his encomiums on the deceaſed, he endeavoured ſtill more to excite their compaſſion, by all that was pitiable or aggravating in the maſſacre. For this purpoſe, in the cloſe of his oration, he took the robe from the dead body, and held it up to them, bloody as it was, and pierced through with weapons; nor did he heſitate, at the ſame time, to call the perpetrators of the deed villains and murderers. This had ſuch an effect upon the people, that they immediately tore up the benches and the tables in the *forum*, to make a pile for the body. After they had duly diſcharged the funeral rites, they ſnatched the burning brands from the pile, and went to attack the houſes of the conſpirators.

Brutus and his party now left the city, and Caeſar's friends joined Antony. Calphurnia, the relict of Caeſar, entruſted him with her treaſure, which amounted to four thouſand talents. All Caeſar's papers, which contained a particular account of his deſigns, were likewiſe delivered up to him. Of theſe he made a very ingenious uſe; for, by inſerting in them what names he thought proper, he made ſome of his friends magiſtrates, and others ſenators; ſome he recalled from exile, and others he diſmiſſed from priſon, on pretence that all theſe things were ſo ordered by Caeſar. The people that were thus favoured, the Romans called *Charonites* *; becauſe, to ſupport their title, they had recourſe to the regiſters of the dead. The power of Antony, in ſhort, was abſolute. He was conſul himſelf; his brother Caius was praetor, and his brother Lucius tribune of the people.

Such was the ſtate of affairs, when Octavius, who was the ſon of Caeſar's niece, and appointed his heir

* The ſlaves who were enfranchiſed by the laſt will of their maſters, were likewiſe called *Charonites*.

by will, arrived at Rome from Apollonia, where he reſided when his uncle was killed. He firſt viſited Antony as the friend of his uncle, and ſpoke to him concerning the money in his hands, and the legacy of ſeventy-five drachmas left to every Roman citizen. Antony paid little regard to him at firſt; and told him, it would be madneſs for an unexperienced young man, without friends, to take upon him ſo important an office as that of being executor to Caeſar.

Octavius, however, was not thus repulſed. He ſtill inſiſted on the money; and Antony, on the other hand, did every thing to mortify and affront him. He oppoſed him in his application for the tribuneſhip; and when he made uſe of the golden chair, which had been granted by the ſenate to his uncle *, he threatened that, unleſs he deſiſted to ſollicit the people, he would commit him to priſon. But when Octavius joined Cicero, and the reſt of Antony's enemies, and by their means obtained an intereſt in the ſenate; when he continued to pay his court to the people, and drew the Veteran ſoldiers from their quarters, Antony thought it was time to accommodate; and for this purpoſe gave him a meeting in the capitol.

An accommodation took place, but it was ſoon deſtroyed; for that night, Antony dreamed that his right hand was thunderſtruck; and, a few days after, he was informed that Octavius had a deſign on his life. The latter would have juſtified himſelf, but was not believed; ſo that, of courſe, the breach became as wide as ever. They now went immediately over Italy, and endeavoured to be before hand with each other, in ſecuring, by rewards and promiſes, the old troops that were in different quarters, and ſuch legions as were ſtill on foot.

Cicero,

* The ſenate had decreed to Caeſar the privilege of uſing a golden chair, adorned with a crown of gold and precious ſtones, in all the theatres. Dion, L. xliv.

Cicero, who had then conſiderable influence in the city, incenſed the people againſt Antony, and prevailed on the ſenate to declare him a public enemy; to ſend the rods and the reſt of the praetorial enſigns to young Caeſar, and to commiſſion Hirtius and Panſa, the conſuls, to drive Antony out of Italy. The two armies engaged near Modena; and Caeſar was preſent at the battle. Both the conſuls were ſlain; but Antony was defeated. In his flight he was reduced to great extremities, particularly by famine. Diſtreſs, however, was to him a ſchool of moral improvement; and Antony, in adverſity, was almoſt a man of virtue. Indeed, it is common for men under misfortunes, to have a clear idea of their duty; but a change of conduct is not always the conſequence. On ſuch occaſions, they too often fall back into their former manners, through the inactivity of reaſon, and infirmity of mind. But Antony was even a pattern for his ſoldiers. From all the varieties of luxurious living, he came with readineſs to drink a little ſtinking water, and to feed on the wild fruits and roots of the deſert. Nay, it is ſaid, that they eat the very bark of the trees; and that, in paſſing the Alps, they fed on creatures that had never been accounted human food.

Antony's deſign was to join Lepidus, who commanded the army on the other ſide of the Alps; and he had a reaſonable proſpect of his friendſhip from the good offices he had done him with Julius Caeſar. When he came within a ſmall diſtance of him he encamped; but receiving no encouragement, he reſolved to hazard all upon a ſingle caſt. His hair was uncombed, and his beard, which he had not ſhaven ſince his defeat, was long. In this forlorn figure, with a mourning mantle thrown over him, he came to the camp of Lepidus, and addreſſed himſelf to the ſoldiers. While ſome were affected with his appearance, and others with his eloquence, Lepidus, afraid of the conſequence, ordered the trum-

pets to ſound, that he might no longer be heard. This, however, contributed to heighten the compaſſion of the ſoldiers; ſo that they ſent Laelius and Clodius in the dreſs of thoſe ladies who hired out their favours to the army, to aſſure Antony, that, if he had reſolution enough to attack the camp of Lepidus, he would meet with many who were not only ready to receive him, but, if he ſhould deſire it, to kill Lepidus. Antony would not ſuffer any violence to be offered to Lepidus; but the day following, at the head of his troops, he croſſed the river which lay between the two camps, and had the ſatisfaction to ſee Lepidus's ſoldiers all the while ſtretching out their hands to him, and making way through the entrenchments.

When he had poſſeſſed himſelf of the camp of Lepidus, he treated him with great humanity. He ſaluted him by the name of father; and though, in reality, every thing was in his own power, he ſecured to him the title and the honours of general. This conduct brought over Munatius Plancus, who was at the head of a conſiderable force at no great diſtance. Thus Antony was once more very powerful, and returned into Italy with ſeventeen entire legions of foot, and ten thouſand horſe. Beſide theſe, he left ſix legions as a garriſon in Gaul, under the command of Varius, one of his convivial companions, whom they called *Cotylon* *.

Octavius, when he found that Cicero's object was to reſtore the liberties of the commonwealth, ſoon abandoned him, and came to an accommodation with Antony. They met, together with Lepidus, in a ſmall river-iſland †, where the conference laſted three days. The empire of the world was divided amongſt them like a paternal inheritance; and this they found no difficulty in ſettling. But whom they ſhould kill, and whom they ſhould ſpare, it was not ſo

* From a half pint bumper; a Greek meaſure ſo called.
† In the Rhine, not far from Bologna.

ſo eaſy to adjuſt, while each was for ſaving his reſpective friends, and putting to death his enemies. At length their reſentment againſt the latter overcame their kindneſs for the former. Octavius gave up Cicero to Antony; and Antony ſacrificed his uncle Lucius Caeſar to Octavius; while Lepidus had the privilege of putting to death his own brother Paulus. Though others ſay, that Lepidus gave up Paulus to them *, though they had required him to put him to death himſelf. I believe there never was any thing ſo atrocious, or ſo execrably ſavage as this commerce of murder. For while a friend was given up for an enemy received, the ſame action murdered at once the friend and the enemy; and the deſtruction of the former was ſtill more horrible, becauſe it had not even reſentment for its apology.

When this confederacy had taken place, the army deſired it might be confirmed by ſome alliance; and Caeſar, therefore, was to marry Claudia the daughter of Fulvia, Antony's wife. As ſoon as this was determined, they marked down ſuch as they intended to put to death; the number of which amounted to three hundred. When Cicero was ſlain, Antony ordered his head, and the hand with which he wrote his Philippics, to be cut off; and when they were preſented to him, he laughed, and exulted at the ſight. After he was ſatiated with looking upon them, he ordered them to be placed on the *roſtra* in the *forum*. But this inſult on the dead was, in fact, an abuſe of his own good fortune, and of the power it had placed in his hands †. When his uncle Lucius Caeſar was purſued by his murderers, he fled for refuge to his ſiſter; and when the purſuers had

* The former Engliſh tranſlator ought not to have omitted this; becauſe it ſomewhat ſoftens at leaſt the character of Lepidus, who was certainly the leaſt execrable villain of the three.

† Were there any circumſtance in Antony's life that could be eſteemed an inſtance of true magnanimity, the total want of that virtue in this caſe would prove that ſuch a circumſtance was merely accidental.

broken into the houſe, and were forcing their way into his chamber, ſhe placed herſelf at the door, and, ſtretching forth her hands, ſhe cried, "You ſhall "not kill Lucius Caeſar, till you have firſt killed "me, the mother of your general." By this means ſhe ſaved her brother.

This triumvirate was very odious to the Romans; but Antony bore the greateſt blame; for he was not only older than Caeſar, and more powerful than Lepidus; but when he was no longer under difficulties, he fell back into the former irregularities of his life. His abandoned and diſſolute manners were the more obnoxious to the people by his living in the houſe of Pompey the Great, a man no leſs diſtinguiſhed by his temperance and modeſty than by the honour of three triumphs. They were mortified to ſee thoſe doors ſhut with inſolence againſt magiſtrates, generals, and ambaſſadors; while they were open to players, jugglers, and ſottiſh ſycophants, on whom he ſpent the greateſt part of thoſe treaſures he had amaſſed by rapine. Indeed, the triumvirate were by no means ſcrupulous about the manner in which they procured their wealth. They ſeized and ſold the eſtates of thoſe who had been proſcribed, and, by falſe accuſations, defrauded their widows and orphans. They burdened the people with inſupportable impoſitions; and, being informed that large ſums of money, the property both of ſtrangers and citizens, were depoſited in the hands of the veſtals, they took them away by violence. When Caeſar found that Antony's covetouſneſs was as boundleſs as his prodigality, he demanded a diviſion of the treaſure. The army too was divided. Antony and Caeſar went into Macedonia againſt Brutus and Caſſius; and the government of Rome was left to Lepidus.

When they had encamped in ſight of the enemy, Antony oppoſite to Caſſius, and Caeſar to Brutus, Caeſar effected nothing extraordinary, but Antony's efforts

efforts were ſtill ſucceſsful. In the firſt engagement Caeſar was defeated by Brutus; his camp was taken; and he narrowly eſcaped by flight; though, in his commentaries, he tells us, that, on account of a dream which happened to one of his friends, he had withdrawn before the battle *. Caſſius was defeated by Antony; and yet there are thoſe, too, who ſay, that Antony was not preſent at the battle, but only joined in the purſuit afterwards. As Caſſius knew nothing of the ſucceſs of Brutus, he was killed, at his own earneſt entreaty, by his freedman Pindarus. Another battle was fought ſoon after, in which Brutus was defeated; and, in conſequence of that, ſlew himſelf. Caeſar happened, at that time, to be ſick, and the honour of this victory, likewiſe, of courſe, fell to Antony. As he ſtood over the body of Brutus, he ſlightly reproached him for the death of his brother Caius, whom, in revenge for the death of Cicero, Brutus had ſlain in Macedonia. It appeared, however, that Antony did not impute the death of Caius ſo much to Brutus as to Hortenſius; for he ordered the latter to be ſlain upon his brother's tomb. He threw his purple robe over the body of Brutus, and ordered one of his freedmen to do the honours of his funeral. When he was afterwards informed, that he had not burned the robe with the body, and that he had retained part of the money which was to be expended on the ceremony, he commanded him to be ſlain. After this victory, Caeſar was conveyed to Rome; and it was expected that his diſtemper would put an end to his life. Antony having traverſed ſome of the provinces of Aſia for the purpoſe of raiſing money, paſſed with a large army into Greece. Contributions, indeed, were abſolutely neceſſary, when a gratuity of five thouſand drachmas had been promiſed to every private man.

Antony's behaviour was at firſt very acceptable to the Grecians. He attended the diſputes of their logicians,

* See the life of Brutus.

logicians, their public diverſions, and religious ceremonies. He was mild in the adminiſtration of juſtice, and affected to be called the friend of Greece; but particularly the friend of Athens, to which he made conſiderable preſents. The Megarenſians vying with the Athenians in exhibiting ſomething curious, invited him to ſee their ſenate-houſe; and when they aſked him how he liked it, he told them, it was *little* and *ruinous*. He took the dimenſions of the temple of Apollo Pythius, as if he had intended to repair it; and, indeed, he promiſed as much to the ſenate.

But when, leaving Lucius Cenſorinus in Greece, he once more paſſed into Aſia; when he had enriched himſelf with the wealth of the country; when his houſe was the reſort of obſequious kings, and queens contended for his favour by their beauty and munificence; then, whilſt Caeſar was harraſſed with ſeditions at Rome, Antony once more gave up his ſoul to luxury, and fell into all the diſſipations of his former life. The Anaxenores and the Zuthi, the harpers and pipers, Metrodorus the dancer, the whole corps of the Aſiatic drama, who far outdid in buffoonery, the poor wretches of Italy; theſe were the people of the court, the folks that carried all before them. In ſhort, all was riot and diſorder. And Aſia, in ſome meaſure, reſembled the city mentioned by Sophocles *, that was at once filled with the perfumes of ſacrifices, ſongs, and groans.

When Antony entered Epheſus, the women in the dreſs of Bacchanals, and men and boys habited like Pan and the ſatyrs, marched before him. Nothing was to be ſeen through the whole city but ivy-crowns, and ſpears wreathed with ivy, harps, flutes, and pipes, while Antony was hailed by the name of Bacchus.——

——"*Bacchus! ever kind, and free!*"

And

* Sophocles, Oed. Sc. 1.

And ſuch, indeed, he was to ſome; but to others he was ſavage and ſevere. He deprived many noble families of their fortunes, and beſtowed them on ſycophants and paraſites. Many were repreſented to be dead, who were ſtill living; and commiſſions were given to his knaves for ſeizing their eſtates. He gave his cook the eſtate of a Magneſian citizen for dreſſing one ſupper to his taſte: But when he laid a double impoſt on Aſia, Hybrias, the agent for the people, told him, with a pleaſantry, that was agreeable to his humour, that, "if he doubled the taxes, "he ought to double the ſeaſons too, and ſupply "the people with two ſummers and two winters." He added, at the ſame time, with a little more aſperity, that, "as Aſia had already raiſed two hun"dred thouſand talents, if he had not received it, "he ſhould demand it of thoſe who had; but, ſaid "he, if you received it, and yet have it not, we are "undone." This touched him ſenſibly; for he was ignorant of many things that were tranſacted under his authority; not that he was indolent, but unſuſpecting. He had a ſimplicity in his nature, without much penetration. But when he found that faults had been committed, he expreſſed the greateſt concern and acknowledgment to the ſufferers. He was prodigal in his rewards, and ſevere in his puniſhments; but the exceſs was rather in the former than in the latter. The inſulting raillery of his converſation carried its remedy along with it; for he was perfectly liberal in allowing the retort, and gave and took with the ſame good humour. This, however, had a bad effect on his affairs. He imagined that thoſe who treated him with freedom in converſation, would not be inſincere in buſineſs. He did not perceive that his ſycophants were artful in their freedom; that they uſed it as a kind of poignant ſauce to prevent the ſatiety of flattery; and that, by taking theſe liberties with him at table, they knew well that, when they complied with his opinions in buſineſs,

buſineſs, he would not think it the effect of complaiſance, but a conviction of his ſuperior judgment.

Such was the frail, the flexible Antony, when the love of Cleopatra came in to the completion of his ruin. This awakened every dormant vice, inflamed every guilty paſſion, and totally extinguiſhed the gleams of remaining virtue. It began in this manner. When he firſt ſet out on his expedition againſt the Parthians, he ſent orders to Cleopatra to meet him in Cilicia, that ſhe might anſwer ſome accuſations which had been laid againſt her of aſſiſting Caſſius in the war. Dellius, who went on this meſſage, no ſooner obſerved the beauty and addreſs of Cleopatra, than he concluded that ſuch a woman, far from having any thing to apprehend from the reſentment of Antony, would certainly have great influence over him. He therefore paid his court to the amiable Egyptian, and ſollicited her to go, as Homer ſays, "in her beſt attire *," into Cilicia; aſſuring her that ſhe had nothing to fear from Antony, who was the moſt courtly general in the world. Induced by his invitation, and, in the confidence of that beauty which had before touched the hearts of Caeſar and young Pompey, ſhe entertained no doubt of the conqueſt of Antony. When Caeſar and Pompey had her favours, ſhe was young and unexperienced; but ſhe was to meet Antony at an age when beauty, in its full perfection, called in the maturity of the underſtanding to its aid. Prepared, therefore, with ſuch treaſures, ornaments, and preſents, as were ſuitable to the dignity and affluence of her kingdom, but chiefly relying on her perſonal charms, ſhe ſet off for Cilicia.

Though ſhe had received many preſſing letters of invitation from Antony and his friends, ſhe held him in

* Hom. Il. L. xiv. 162. It is thus that Juno propoſes to meet Jupiter; when ſhe has a particular deſign of inſpiring him with love.

in ſuch contempt, that ſhe by no means took the moſt expeditious method of travelling. She ſailed along the river Cydnus in a moſt magnificent galley. The ſtern was covered with gold, the ſails were of purple, and the oars were ſilver. Theſe, in their motion, kept time to the muſic of flutes, and pipes, and harps. The queen, in the dreſs and character of Venus, lay under a canopy embroidered with gold, of the moſt exquiſite workmanſhip; while boys, like painted Cupids, ſtood fanning her on each ſide of the ſopha. Her maids were of the moſt diſtinguiſhed beauty, and, habited like the Nereids and the Graces, aſſiſted in the ſteerage and conduct of the veſſel. The fragrance of burning incenſe was diffuſed along the ſhores, which were covered with multitudes of people. Some followed the proceſſion, and ſuch numbers went down from the city to ſee it, that Antony was at laſt left alone on the tribunal. A rumour was ſoon ſpread that Venus was come to feaſt with Bacchus for the benefit of Aſia. Antony ſent to invite her to ſupper; but ſhe thought it his duty to wait upon her, and to ſhew his politeneſs on her arrival, he complied. He was aſtoniſhed at the magnificence of the preparations; but particularly at that multitude of lights, which were raiſed or let down together, and diſpoſed in ſuch a variery of ſquare and circular figures, that they afforded one of the moſt pleaſing ſpectacles that has been recorded in hiſtory. The day following Antony invited her to ſup with him, and was ambitious to outdo her in the elegance and magnificence of the entertainment. But he was ſoon convinced that he came ſhort of her in both, and was the firſt to ridicule the meanneſs and vulgarity of his treat. As ſhe found that Antony's humour ſavoured more of the camp than of the court, ſhe fell into the ſame coarſe vein, and played upon him without the leaſt reſerve. Such was the variety of her powers in converſation: Her beauty, it is ſaid, was neither aſtoniſhing nor inimi-

table; but it derived a force from her wit, and her faſcinating manner, which was abſolutely irreſiſtible. Her voice was delightfully melodious, and had the ſame variety of modulation, as an inſtrument of many ſtrings. She ſpoke moſt languages; and there were but few of the foreign ambaſſadors whom ſhe anſwered by an interpreter. She gave audience herſelf to the Ethiopians, the Troglodites, the Hebrews, Arabs, Syrians, Medes, and Parthians. Nor were theſe all the languages ſhe underſtood, though the kings of Egypt, her predeceſſors, could hardly ever attain to the Egyptian; and ſome of them forgot even their original Macedonian.

Antony was ſo wholly engroſſed with her charms, that while his wife Fulvia was maintaining his intereſt at Rome againſt Caeſar, and the Parthian forces, aſſembled under the conduct of Labienus in Meſopotamia, were ready to enter Syria, ſhe led her amorous captive in triumph to Alexandria. There the Veteran warrior fell into every idle exceſs of puerile amuſement, and offered at *the ſhrine of luxury*, what Antipho calls the greateſt of all ſacrifices, *the ſacrifice of time*. This mode of life, they called *the inimitable*. They viſited each other alternately every day; and the profuſion of their entertainments is almoſt incredible. Philotas, a phyſician of Amphiſſa, who was at that time purſuing his ſtudies in Alexandria, told my grandfather Lamprias, that, being acquainted with one of Antony's cooks, he was invited to ſee the preparations for ſupper. When he came into the kitchen, beſide an infinite variety of other proviſions, he obſerved eight wild boars roaſting whole; and expreſſed his ſurpriſe at the number of the company for whom this enormous proviſion muſt have been made. The cook laughed and ſaid, that the company did not exceed twelve; but that, as every diſh was to be roaſted to a ſingle turn; and as Antony was uncertain as to the time when he would ſup, particularly if an extraordinary bottle, or an extraordinary vein of converſation

tion was going round, it was neceſſary to have a ſucceſſion of ſuppers. Philotas added, that, being afterwards in the ſervice of Antony's eldeſt ſon by Fulvia, he was admitted to ſup with him when he did not ſup with his father; and it once happened, that, when another phyſician at table had tired the company with his noiſe and impertinence, he ſilenced him with the following ſophiſm: *There are ſome degrees of a fever in which cold water is good for a man: Every man, who has a fever, has it in ſome degree; and, therefore, cold water is good for every man in a fever.* The impertinent was ſtruck dumb with this ſyllogiſm; and Antony's ſon, who laughed at his diſtreſs, to reward Philotas for his good offices, pointing to a magnificent ſide-board of plate, ſaid, "All that, Philotas, is yours!" Philotas acknowledged the kind offer; but thought it too much for ſuch a boy to give. And, afterwards, when a ſervant brought the plate to him in a cheſt, that he might put his ſeal upon it, he refuſed, and, indeed, was afraid to accept it: Upon which the ſervant ſaid, "What are you afraid of? Do not you conſider "that this is a preſent from the ſon of Antony, who "could eaſily give you its weight in gold? How-"ever, I would recommend it to you to take the "value of it in money. In this plate there may be "ſome curious pieces of ancient workmanſhip that "Antony may ſet a value on." Such are the anecdotes which my grandfather told me he had from Philotas.

Cleopatra was not limited to Plato's four kinds of flattery *. She had an infinite variety of it. Whether Antony were in the gay, or the ſerious humour, ſtill ſhe had ſomething ready for his amuſement. She was with him night and day. She gamed, ſhe drank, ſhe hunted, ſhe reviewed with him. In his night-rambles, when he was reconnoitring the doors and windows of the citizens, and throwing out his jeſts

* Plato, Gorgias.

jeſts upon them, ſhe attended him in the habit of a ſervant, which he alſo, on ſuch occaſions, affected to wear. From theſe expeditions, he frequently returned a ſufferer both in perſon and character. But though ſome of the Alexandrians were diſpleaſed with this whimſical humour, others enjoyed it, and ſaid, that Antony preſented his comic parts in Alexandria, and reſerved the tragic for Rome. To mention all his follies would be too trifling; but his fiſhing ſtory muſt not be omitted. He was a fiſhing one day with Cleopatra, and had ill ſucceſs, which, in the preſence of his miſtreſs, he looked upon as a diſgrace; he, therefore, ordered one of the aſſiſtants to dive and put on his hook ſuch as had been taken before. This ſcheme he put in practice three or four times, and Cleopatra perceived it. She affected, however, to be ſurpriſed at his ſucceſs; expreſſed her wonder to the people about her; and, the day following, invited them to ſee freſh proofs of it. When the following day came, the veſſel was crowded with people; and as ſoon as Antony had let down his line, ſhe ordered one of her divers immediately to put a ſalt fiſh on his hook. When Antony found he had caught his fiſh, he drew up his line; and this, as may be ſuppoſed, occaſioned no ſmall mirth amongſt the ſpectators. "Go, general," ſaid Cleopatra, "leave fiſhing to us petty princes of Pharus "and Canopus; your game is cities, kingdoms, and "provinces *."

In the midſt of theſe ſcenes of feſtivity and diſſipation, Antony received two unfavourable meſſages; one from Rome, that his wife Fulvia, and his brother Lucius, after long diſſentions between themſelves, had joined to oppoſe Caeſar, but were overpowered and

* This expreſſion of Cleopatra's has ſomething of the ſame turn with that paſſage in Virgil.——

Excudent alii ſpirantia mollius aera!
In regere imperio populos Romane memento.

and obliged to fly out of Italy. The other informed him, that Labienus and the Parthians had reduced Aſia, from Syria and the Euphrates to Lydia and Ionia. It was with difficulty that even this rouſed him from his lethargy: But waking at length, and, literally, waking from a fit of intoxication, he ſet out againſt the Parthians, and proceeded as far as Phœnicia. However, upon the receipt of ſome very moving letters from Fulvia, he turned his courſe towards Italy, with two hundred ſhips. Such of his friends as had fled from thence, he received; and from theſe he learnt, that Fulvia had been the principal cauſe of the diſturbances in Rome. Her diſpoſition had a natural tendency to violence and diſcord; and, on this occaſion, it was abetted by jealouſy; for ſhe expected that the diſorders of Italy would call Antony from the arms of Cleopatra. That unhappy woman died at Sycion, in her progreſs to meet her huſband.

This event opened an opportunity for a reconciliation with Caeſar. For when Antony came to Italy, and Caeſar expreſſed no reſentment againſt him, but threw the whole blame on Fulvia; their reſpective friends interfered, and brought them to an accommodation. The eaſt, within the boundaries of the Ionian ſea, was given to Antony; the weſtern provinces to Caeſar; and Lepidus had Africa. When they did not accept of the conſulſhip themſelves, they were to diſpoſe of it as they thought proper in their turns.

After theſe matters were ſettled, they thought of means to ſecure this union which fortune had ſet on foot. Caeſar had a ſiſter older than himſelf named Octavia, but they had different mothers. The mother of Octavia was Ancharia. Caeſar's mother was Attia. He had a great affection for this ſiſter; for ſhe was a woman of extraordinary merit. She had been already married to Caius Marcellus; but a little

before this had buried her huſband; and, as Antony had loſt his wife, there was an opening for a freſh union. His connection with Cleopatra, he did not affect to deny; but he abſolutely denied that he was married to her; and, in this circumſtance, indeed, his prudence prevailed over his love. His marriage with Octavia was univerſally wiſhed. It was the general hope, that a woman of her beauty and diſtinguiſhed virtues would acquire ſuch an influence over Antony, as might, in the end, be ſalutary to the ſtate. Conditions being mutually agreed upon, they proceeded to ſolemnize the nuptials at Rome; and the law which permits no widow to marry till the expiration of ten months after the deceaſe of her huſband, was diſpenſed with by the ſenate.

Sextus, the ſon of Pompey, who was then in poſſeſſion of Sicily, had not only made great ravages in Italy, but had covered the ſea with ſuch a number of piratical veſſels, under the command of Menas and Menecrates, that it was no longer ſafe for other ſhips to paſs. He had been favourable, notwithſtanding, to Antony; for he had given a kind reception to his mother and his wife Fulvia, when they were obliged to fly from Rome. It was judged proper, therefore, to accommodate matters with him; and, for this purpoſe, a meeting was held at the promontory of Miſenum by the mole that runs into the ſea. Pompey was attended by his fleet; Antony and Caeſar by an army of foot. At this interview it was ſettled, that Pompey ſhould keep Sicily and Sardinia, on condition that he ſhould clear the ſea of pirates, and ſend a certain quantity of corn to Rome. When theſe things were determined, they mutually invited each other to ſupper; but it fell to the lot of Pompey to give the firſt entertainment. When Antony aſked him where they ſhould ſup: "There," ſaid he, pointing to the admiral-galley of ſix oars, "that is the only patrimonial "manſion-

"manſion-houſe that is left to Pompey;" and it implied, at the ſame time, a ſarcaſm on Antony, who was then in poſſeſſion of his father's houſe. However, he entertained them very politely, after conducting them over a bridge from the promontory to the ſhip that rode at anchor. During the entertainment, while the raillery ran briſkly on Antony and Cleopatra, Menas came to Pompey and told him ſecretly, that, if he would permit him to cut the cable, he would not only make him maſter of Sicily and Sardinia, but of the whole Roman empire. Pompey, after a moment's deliberation, anſwered, that he ſhould have done it without conſulting him. "We muſt now let it alone," ſaid he, "for I cannot "break my oath of treaty." The compliment of the entertainment was returned by his gueſts, and he then retired to Sicily.

Antony, after the accommodation, ſent Ventidius into Aſia, to ſtop the progreſs of the Parthians. All matters of public adminiſtration were conducted with the greateſt harmony between him and Octavius; and, in compliment to the latter, he took upon himſelf the office of high-prieſt to Caeſar the dictator. But, alas! in their conteſts at play, Caeſar was generally ſuperior, and Antony was mortified. He had in his houſe a fortune-telling gypſey, who was ſkilled in the calculation of nativities. This man, either to oblige Cleopatra, or following the inveſtigation of truth, told Antony that the ſtar of his fortune, however glorious in itſelf, was eclipſed and obſcured by Caeſar's, and adviſed him, by all means, to keep at the greateſt diſtance from that young man. "The genius of your life," ſaid he, "is afraid of "his: when it is alone, it's port is erect and fear-"leſs; when his approaches, it is dejected and de-"preſt." Indeed, there were many circumſtances that ſeemed to juſtify the conjurer's doctrine: For in every kind of play, whether they caſt lots, or caſt the die, Antony was ſtill the loſer. In their cock-

fights, and quail-fights, it was ſtill Caeſar's cock, and Caeſar's quail. Theſe things, co-operating with the conjurer's obſervations, had ſuch an effect on Antony, that he gave up the management of his domeſtic affairs to Caeſar, and left Italy. Octavia, who had by this time brought him a daughter, he took with him into Greece. He wintered in Athens, and there he learnt that his affairs in Aſia, under Ventidius, were ſucceſsful; that the Parthians were routed, and that Labienus and Pharnapates, the ableſt generals of Orodes, fell in the battle. In honour of this victory, he gave an entertainment to the Greeks, and treated the Athenians with an exhibition of the Gymnaſtic games, in which he took the maſter's part himſelf. The robes and enſigns of the general were laid aſide; the rods, the cloak, and the ſlippers of the Gymnaſiarch were aſſumed; and when the combatants had fought ſufficiently, he parted them himſelf.

When he went to the war, he took with him a crown of the ſacred olive; and, by the direction of ſome oracle or other, a veſſel of water filled out of the Clepſydra *. In the mean time, Pacorus, ſon of the king of Parthia, made an incurſion into Syria, but was routed by Ventidius in Cyrreſtica, and, with the greateſt part of his army, fell in the battle. This celebrated victory made ample amends for the defeat of Craſſus. The Parthians had now been thrice conquered, and were confined within the bounds of Media and Meſopotamia. Ventidius would not purſue the Parthians any farther, for fear of exciting the envy of Antony; he, therefore, turned his arms againſt the revolters, and brought them back to their duty. Amongſt theſe was Antiochus, the king of Commagene, whom he beſieged in the city of Samoſata. That prince, at firſt, offered to pay

* The Clepſydra was a fountain belonging to the citadel at Athens; ſo called, becauſe it was ſometimes full of water, and ſometimes empty.

pay a thouſand talents, and to ſubmit himſelf to the Roman empire; upon which Ventidius told him, that he muſt ſend propoſals to Antony; for he was then at no great diſtance; and he had not commiſſioned Ventidius to make peace with Antiochus, that ſomething at leaſt might be done by himſelf. But while the ſiege was thus prolonged, and the people of Samoſata deſpaired of obtaining terms, that deſpair produced a degree of courage which defeated every effort of the beſiegers; and Antony was at laſt reduced to the diſgraceful neceſſity of accepting three hundred talents.

After he had done ſome little towards ſettling the affairs of Syria, he returned to Athens, and ſent Ventidius to Rome to enjoy the reward of his merit in a triumph. He was the only general that ever triumphed over the Parthians. His birth was obſcure, but his connections with Antony brought him into great appointments; and, by making the beſt uſe of them, he confirmed what was ſaid of Antony and Octavius Caeſar, that they were more ſucceſsful by their lieutenants than when they commanded in perſon. This obſervation, with regard to Antony in particular, might be juſtified by the ſucceſs of Soſſius and Canidius. The former had done great things in Syria; and the latter, whom he left in Armenia, reduced the whole country; and, after defeating the kings of Iberia and Albania, penetrated as far as Mount Caucaſus, and ſpread the terror of Antony's name and power through thoſe barbarous nations.

Soon after this, upon hearing ſome diſagreeable reports concerning the deſigns or the conduct of Caeſar, he ſailed for Italy with a fleet of three hundred ſhips; and, being refuſed the harbour of Brunduſium, he made for Tarentum. There he was prevailed on by his wife Octavia, who accompanied him, and was then pregnant a third time, to ſend her to her brother; and ſhe was fortunate enough to meet him in her journey, attended by his two

friends, Mecenas and Agrippa. In her conference with him, ſhe intreated him to conſider the peculiarity of her ſituation, and not to make the happieſt woman in the world the moſt unfortunate. "The "eyes of all," ſaid ſhe, "are neceſſarily turned on "me, who am the wife of Antony, and the ſiſter of "Caeſar; and ſhould theſe chiefs of the empire, "miſled by haſty counſels, involve the whole in "war, whatever may be the event, it will be un-"happy for me." Caeſar was ſoftened by the intreaties of his ſiſter, and proceeded with peaceable views to Tarentum. His arrival afforded a general ſatisfaction to the people. They were pleaſed to ſee ſuch an army on the ſhore, and ſuch a fleet in the harbour, in the mutual diſpoſition for peace; and nothing but compliments and expreſſions of kindneſs paſſing between the generals. Antony firſt invited Caeſar to ſup with him, and, in compliment to Octavia, he accepted the invitation. At length it was agreed, that Caeſar ſhould give up to Antony two legions for the Parthian ſervice; and that Antony, in return, ſhould leave a hundred armed gallies with Caeſar. Octavia, moreover, engaged Antony to give up twenty light ſhips to Caeſar, and procured from her brother a thouſand foot for her huſband. Matters being thus accommodated, Caeſar went to war with Pompey for the recovery of Sicily; and Antony, leaving under his protection, his wife, and his children, both by the preſent and the former marriage, ſailed for Aſia.

Upon his approach to Syria, the love of Cleopatra, which had ſo long been dormant in his heart, and which better counſels ſeemed totally to have ſuppreſt, revived again, and took poſſeſſion of his ſoul. The unruly ſteed, to which Plato * compares certain paſſions,

* Plutarch here alludes to that paſſage in Plato, where he compares the ſoul to a winged chariot with two horſes and a charioteer. One of theſe horſes is miſchievous and unruly; the other

paſſions, once more broke looſe, and in ſpite of honour, intereſt, and prudence, Antony ſent Fonteius Capito to conduct Cleopatra into Syria.

Upon her arrival, he made her the moſt magnificent preſents. He gave her the provinces of Phœnicia, Cæloſyria, Cyprus, great part of Cilicia, that diſtrict of Judaea which produces the balm, and that part of Arabia Nabathea which lies upon the ocean. Theſe extravagant gifts were diſagreeable to the Romans: For, though he had often conferred on private perſons conſiderable governments and kingdoms; though he had deprived many princes of their dominions, and beheaded Antigonus of Judaea, the firſt king that ever ſuffered in ſuch a manner *; yet nothing ſo much diſturbed the Romans as his enormous profuſion in favour of that woman. Nor were they leſs offended at his giving the ſurnames of the ſun and moon to the twins he had by her.

But Antony knew well how to give a fair appearance to the moſt diſreputable actions. The greatneſs of the Roman empire, he ſaid, appeared more in giving than in receiving kingdoms; and that it was proper for perſons of high birth and ſtation to extend and ſecure their nobility by leaving children and ſucceſſors born of different princes; that his anceſtor Hercules truſted not to the fertility of one woman, as if he had feared the penalties annexed to the law of Solon; but by various connexions with the ſex, became the founder of many families.

After Orodes was ſlain by his ſon Phraates †, who took poſſeſſion of the kingdom, many of the Parthian

other gentle and tractable. The charioteer is reaſon: the unruly horſe denotes the concupiſcent, and the tractable horſe the iraſcible part. PLATO, Phaed

* Dion tells us that Antigonus was firſt tied to a ſtake and whipped; and that, afterwards, his throat was cut. ἀπεσφαξε, and not πελεκιζει, is the word he uſes. Livy ſays, *Deligati ad palum, virgiſque caeſi, et ſecuri percuſſi.*

† The ſame Phraates that Horace mentions. *Redditum Cyri ſolio Phraaten.* Lib. III. Ode 2.

thian chiefs fled to Antony; and amongſt the reſt, Moneſes, a man of great dignity and power. Antony thinking that Moneſes, in his fortune, reſembled Themiſtocles, and comparing his own wealth and magnificence, to that of the kings of Perſia, gave him three cities, Lariſſa, Arethuſa, and Hierampolis, which was before called Bombyce. But when Phraates ſent Moneſes aſſurances of his ſafety, he readily diſmiſſed him. On this occaſion he formed a ſcheme to deceive Phraates. He pretended a diſpoſition for peace, and required only that the Roman ſtandards and enſigns which had been taken at the defeat of Craſſus, and ſuch of the priſoners as ſtill ſurvived, might be reſtored. He ſent Cleopatra into Egypt; after which he marched through Arabia and Armenia, where, as ſoon as his own troops were joined by the allies, he reviewed his army. He had ſeveral princes in alliance with him, but Artavaſdes, king of Armenia, was the moſt powerful; for he furniſhed ſix thouſand horſe and ſeven thouſand foot. At this review there appeared ſixty thouſand Roman foot, and ten thouſand horſe, who, though chiefly Gauls and Spaniards, were reckoned as Romans. The number of the allies, including the light armed and the cavalry, amounted to thirty thouſand.

This formidable armament, which ſtruck terror into the Indians beyond Bactria, and alarmed all Aſia, his attachment to Cleopatra rendered perfectly uſeleſs. His impatience to return and ſpend the winter in her arms, made him take the field too early in the ſeaſon, and precipitated all his meaſures. As a man who is under the power of enchantment, can only act as the impulſe of the magic directs him, his eye was continually drawn to Cleopatra, and to return to her was a greater object than to conquer the world. He ought certainly to have wintered in Armenia, that he might give a proper reſpite and refreſhment

freſhment to his men, after a march of a thouſand miles. In the early part of the ſpring, he ſhould have made himſelf maſter of Media, before the Parthian troops were drawn out of garriſon: But his impatience put him upon the march, and leaving Armenia on the left, he paſſed through the province of Atropatene, and laid waſte the country. In his haſte, he left behind him the battering engines, amongſt which was a ram eighty foot long, and theſe followed the camp on three hundred carriages. Had any damage happened to theſe, it would have been impoſſible to repair them in this upper part of Aſia, where there is no timber of height or ſtrength ſufficient for the purpoſe. However, they were brought after him under the conduct of Statianus; and, in the mean time, he laid ſiege to the large city of Phraata, the reſidence of the king of Media's wives and children. Here he perceived his error in leaving the engines behind; for want of which he was obliged to throw up a mount againſt the wall; and that required conſiderable time and labour.

In the mean time, Phraates came up with a numerous army; and being informed that Antony had left behind him his machines, he ſent a large detachment to intercept them. This party fell upon Statianus, who, with ten thouſand of his men, was ſlain upon the ſpot. Many were taken priſoners; among whom was king Polemo; and the machines were ſeized by the enemy and deſtroyed.

This miſcarriage greatly diſcouraged the army; and Artavaſdes, though he had been the promoter of the war, withdrew his forces in deſpair. The Parthians, on the other hand, encouraged by their ſucceſs, came up with the Romans while they were employed in the ſiege, and treated them with the moſt inſolent menaces and contempt. Antony, who knew that deſpair and timidity would be the conſequence of inaction, led out ten legions, three prætorian cohorts heavy armed, and the whole body of cavalry,

cavalry, on the buſineſs of foraging. He was perſuaded, at the ſame time, that this was the only method of drawing the enemy after him, and bringing them to a battle. After one day's progreſs, he obſerved the enemy in motion, and watching an opportunity to fall upon him in his march. Hereupon he put up in his camp the ſignal for battle; but, at the ſame time, ſtruck his tents, as if his intention was not to fight, but to retire. Accordingly he paſſed the army of the barbarians, which was drawn up in form of a creſcent: but he had previouſly given orders to the horſe to charge the enemy, full ſpeed, as ſoon as their ranks were within reach of the legionary troops. The Parthians were ſtruck with aſtoniſhment at the order of the Roman army, when they obſerved them paſs at regular intervals without confuſion, and brandiſh their pikes in ſilence.

When the ſignal was given for battle, the horſe turned ſhort and fell with loud ſhouts on the enemy. The Parthians received the attack with firmneſs, though they were too cloſe in with them for the uſe of their bows. But when the infantry came to the charge, their ſhouts, and the claſhing of their arms, ſo frightened the enemy's horſes, that they were no longer manageable; and the Parthians fled without once engaging. Antony purſued them cloſely, in hopes that this action would, in a great meaſure, terminate the war. But when the infantry had followed them fifty furlongs, and the cavalry at leaſt an hundred and fifty, he found that he had not ſlain above eighty of the enemy, and that thirty only were taken priſoners. Thus, the little advantage of their victories, and the heavy loſs of their defeats, as in the recent inſtance of the carriages, was a freſh diſcouragement to the Romans.

The day following, they returned with their baggage to the camp before Phraata. In their march they met with ſome ſtraggling troops of the enemy,

afterwards with greater parties, and at laſt with the whole body, which, having eaſily rallied, appeared like a freſh army, and haraſſed them in ſuch a manner, that it was with difficulty they reached their camp.

The Median garriſon, in the abſence of Antony, had made a ſally; and thoſe who were left to defend the mount, had quitted their poſt and fled. Antony, at his return, puniſhed the fugitives by decimation. That is, he divided them into tens; and, in each diviſion, put one to death, on whom the lot happened to fall. Thoſe that eſcaped, had their allowance in barley inſtead of wheat.

Both parties now found their difficulties in the war. Antony had the dread of famine before him, for he could not forage without a terrible ſlaughter of his men; and Phraates, who knew the temper of the Parthians, was apprehenſive, that, if the Romans perſiſted in carrying on the ſiege, as ſoon as the autumnal equinox was paſt, and the winter ſet in, he ſhould be deſerted by his army, which would not at that time endure the open field. To prevent this, he had recourſe to ſtratagem. He ordered his officers not to purſue the Romans too cloſe when they were foraging, but to permit them to carry off proviſions. He commanded them, at the ſame time, to compliment them on their valour; and to expreſs his high opinion of the Roman bravery. They were inſtructed, likewiſe, as opportunity might offer, to blame the obſtinacy of Antony, which expoſed ſo many brave men to the ſeverities of famine and a winter campaign, who muſt ſuffer of courſe, notwithſtanding all the Parthians could do for them, while Phraatas ſought for nothing more than peace, though he was ſtill defeated in his benevolent intentions.

Antony, on theſe reports, began to conceive hopes; but he would not offer any terms before he was ſatisfied whether they came originally from the king.

king. The enemy aſſured him, that ſuch were the ſentiments of Phraates; and, being induced to believe them, he ſent ſome of his friends to demand the ſtandards and the priſoners that came into their hands on the defeat of Craſſus; for he thought, if he demanded nothing, it might appear that he was pleaſed with the privilege of retreating. The Parthian anſwered, that the ſtandards and priſoners could not be reſtored; but that Antony, if he thought proper, was at liberty to retreat in ſafety.

After ſome few days had been ſpent in making up the baggage, he began his march. On this occaſion, though he had the happieſt eloquence in addreſſing his ſoldiers, and reconciling them to every ſituation and event; yet, whether it was through ſhame, or ſorrow, or both, he left that office to Domitius Aenobarbus. Some of them were offended at this as an act of contempt. But the greater part underſtood the cauſe, and, pitying their general, paid him ſtill greater attention.

Antony had determined to take his rout through a plain and open country; but a certain Mardian, who was well acquainted with the practices of the Parthians, and had approved his faith to the Romans at the battle when the machines were loſt, adviſed him to take the mountains on his right, and not to expoſe his heavy-armed troops in an open country to the attacks of the Parthian bowmen and cavalry. Phraates, he ſaid, amuſed him with fair promiſes, merely to draw him off from the ſiege; but if he would take him for his guide, he would conduct him by a way that was nearer, and better furniſhed with neceſſaries. Antony deliberated for ſome time upon this. He would not appear to doubt the honour of the Parthians after the truce they had agreed to; and yet, he could not but approve of a way which was nearer, and which lay through an inhabited country. At laſt, he required the neceſſary pledges of the Mardian's faith, which he gave in ſuffering

ſuffering himſelf to be bound till he ſhould have conducted the army into Armenia. In this condition he led the Romans peaceably along for two days: but on the third, when Antony, expecting nothing leſs than the Parthians, was marching forward in diſorderly ſecurity, the Mardian obſerving the mounds of a river broken down, and the waters let out into the plain where they were to paſs, concluded that the Parthians had done this to retard their march, and adviſed Antony to be on his guard; for the enemy, he ſaid, was at no great diſtance. Whilſt Antony was drawing up his men, and preparing ſuch of them as were armed with darts and ſlings to make a ſally againſt the enemy, the Parthians came upon him, and, by ſurrounding his army, harraſſed it on every part. The light-armed Romans, indeed, made an incurſion upon them, and, galling them with their miſſive weapons, obliged them to retreat; but they ſoon returned to the charge, till a band of the Gauliſh cavalry attacked and diſperſed them; ſo that they appeared no more that day.

Antony, upon this, found what meaſures he was to take; and, covering both wings and the rear with ſuch troops as were armed with miſſive weapons, his army marched in the form of a ſquare. The cavalry had orders to repel the attacks of the enemy, but not to purſue them to any great diſtance. The Parthians, of courſe, when in four ſucceſſive days they could make no conſiderable impreſſion, and found themſelves equally annoyed in their turn, grew more remiſs, and, finding an excuſe in the winter-ſeaſon, began to think of a retreat. On the fifth day, Flavius Gallus, a general officer of great courage and valour, requeſted Antony, that he would indulge him with a number of light-armed troops from the rear, together with a few horſe from the front; and with theſe he propoſed to perform ſome conſiderable exploit. Theſe he obtained, and in repelling

repelling the attacks of the Parthians, he did not, like the reſt, retreat by degrees towards the body of the army, but maintained his ground, and fought rather on the offenſive than on the defenſive. When the officers of the rear obſerved that he was ſeparated from the reſt, they ſent to recall him, but he did not obey the ſummons. It is ſaid, however, that Titius the quaeſtor turned back the ſtandard, and inveighed againſt Gallus for leading ſo many brave men to deſtruction. Gallus, on the other hand, returned his reproaches, and commmanding thoſe who were about him to ſtand, he made his retreat alone. Gallus had no ſooner made an impreſſion on the enemy's front, than he was ſurrounded. In this diſtreſs he ſent for aſſiſtance; and here the general officers, and Canidius, the favourite of Antony, amongſt the reſt, committed a moſt capital error. Inſtead of leading the whole army againſt the Parthians, as ſoon as one detachment was overpowered, they ſent another to it's ſupport; and thus, by degrees, they would have ſacrificed great part of the troops, had not Antony come haſtily from the front with the heavy armed, and urging on the third legion through the midſt of the fugitives, ſtopped the enemy's purſuit.

In this action no fewer than three thouſand were ſlain, and five thouſand brought back wounded to the camp. Amongſt the laſt was Gallus, who had four arrows ſhot through his body, and ſoon after died of his wounds. Antony viſited all that had ſuffered on this unhappy occaſion, and conſoled them with tears of real grief and affection: while the wounded ſoldiers, embracing the hand of their general, intreated him not to attend to their ſufferings but to his own health and quiet, "While our general is ſafe, all," ſaid they, "is well." It is certain that there was not in thoſe days a braver or a finer army. The men were tall, ſtout, able and willing to endure the greateſt toils. Their reſpect and ready obedience to their general

general was wonderful. Not a man in the army, from the firſt officer to the meaneſt ſoldier, but would have preferred the favour of Antony to his own life and ſafety. In all theſe reſpects they were at leaſt equal to the armies of ancient Rome. A variety of cauſes, as we have obſerved, concurred to produce this: Antony's noble birth, his eloquence, his candour, his liberality and magnificence, and the familiar pleaſantry of his converſation. Theſe were the general cauſes of the affection he found in his army; and, on this particular occaſion, his ſympathiſing with the wounded and attending to their wants, made them totally forget their ſufferings.

The Parthians, who had, before, begun to languiſh in their operations, were ſo much elevated with this advantage, and held the Romans in ſuch contempt, that they even ſpent the night by their camp, in hopes of ſeizing the baggage while they deſerted their tents. At break of day numbers more came up, to the amount, as it is ſaid, of forty thouſand horſe: for the Parthian king had ſent even his body guard, ſo confident was he of abſolute victory; as to himſelf, he never was preſent at any engagement.

Antony being now to addreſs his ſoldiers, called for mourning apparel, that his ſpeech might be more affecting; but as his friends would not permit this, he appeared in his general's robe. Thoſe that had been victorious he praiſed, thoſe who had fled he reproached; the former encouraged him by every teſtimony of their zeal; the latter, offering themſelves either to decimation or any other kind of puniſhment that he might think proper to inflict upon them, intreated him to forego his ſorrow and concern. Upon this he raiſed his hands to heaven, and prayed to the gods, "That if his happier fortune was to be "followed by future evil, it might affect only him-"ſelf, and that his army might be ſafe and vic-"torious."

The

The day following they marched out in better and firmer order, and the Parthians, who thought they had nothing to do but to plunder, when they saw their enemy in freſh ſpirits and in a capacity for renewing the engagement, were extremely diſconcerted. However, they fell upon the Romans from the adjacent declivities, and galled them with their arrows as they were marching ſlowly forward. Againſt theſe attacks the light-armed troops were covered by the legionaries, who placing one knee upon the ground, received the arrows on their ſhields. The rank that was behind covered that which was before in a regular gradation; ſo that this curious fortification, which defended them from the arrows of the enemy, reſembled the roof of a houſe.

The Parthians, who thought that the Romans reſted on their knees only through wearineſs and fatigue, threw away their bows and came to cloſe engagement with their ſpears. Upon this the Romans leaped up with a loud ſhout, cut to pieces thoſe who came firſt to the attack and put all the reſt to flight. This method of attack and defence being repeated every day, they made but little progreſs in their march, and were, beſides, diſtreſſed for want of proviſions; they could not forage without fighting; the corn they could get was but little, and even *that* they had not inſtruments to grind. The greateſt part of them had been left behind; for many of their beaſts of burthen were dead, and many were employed in carrying the ſick and wounded. It is ſaid that a buſhel of wheat, Attic meaſure, was ſold for fifty drachmas, and a barley loaf for it's weight in ſilver. Thoſe who ſought for roots and pot-herbs found few that they had been accuſtomed to eat, and in taſting unknown herbs, they met with one that brought on madneſs and death. He that had eaten of it immediately loſt all memory and knowledge; but, at the ſame time, would buſy himſelf in turning and moving every ſtone he met with, as if he was upon

upon ſome very important purſuit. The camp was full of unhappy men bending to the ground, and thus digging up and removing ſtones, 'till at laſt they were carried off by a bilious vomiting; when wine *, the only remedy †, was not to be had. Thus, while numbers periſhed, and the Parthians ſtill continued to harraſs them, Antony is ſaid frequently to have cried out, "O the ten thouſand!" alluding to the army that Xenophon led from Babylon both a longer way ‡, and through more numerous conflicts, and yet led in ſafety.

The Parthians, when they found that they could not break through the Roman ranks, nor throw them into diſorder, but were frequently beaten in their attacks, begun once more to treat their foragers in a peaceable manner. They ſhewed them their bows unſtrung, and informed them that they had given up the purſuit and were going to depart. A few Medes, they ſaid, might continue the rout a day or two longer, but they would give the Romans no trouble, as their only purpoſe was to protect ſome of the remoter villages. Theſe profeſſions were accompanied with many kind ſalutations; inſomuch that the Romans conceived freſh hopes and ſpirits; and, becauſe the way over the mountains was ſaid to be deſtitute of water, Antony once more was deſirous of taking his rout through the plains. When he was going to put this ſcheme in execution, one Mithridates, couſin to that Moneſes, who had formerly ſought his protection, and been preſented by him

* The ancients held wine to be a principal remedy againſt vomiting. *Præterea vomitiones ſiſtit.*

PLIN. Nat. Hiſt. l. xxiii. c. 1.

† It was likewiſe eſteemed good againſt many kinds of poiſon. *Merum eſt contra cicutam, Aconita et omnia quæ refrigerant remedium.* Ibid.

‡ When Plutarch ſays that Xenophon led his ten thouſand a longer way, he muſt mean to terminate Antony's march with Armenia.

him with three cities, came from the enemy's camp, and deſired he might be permitted to ſpeak with ſome perſon that underſtood the Syrian or the Parthian language. Alexander of Antioch, a friend of Antony's went out to him, and after the Parthian had informed him who he was, and attributed his coming to the kindneſs of Moneſes, he aſked him, whether he did not ſee at a great diſtance before him a range of high hills. "Under thoſe hills," ſaid he, "the whole Parthian army lies in ambuſcade for "you: for at the foot of the mountains there is a "ſpacious plain, and there, when deluded by their "artifices, you have left the way over the heights, "they expect to find you. In the mountain roads, "indeed, you have thirſt and toil to contend with "as uſual; but, ſhould Antony take the plains, "he muſt expect the fate of Craſſus."

After he had given this information, he departed; and Antony on the occaſion aſſembled a council, and amongſt the reſt his Mardian guide, who concurred with the directions of the Parthian. The way over the plains, he ſaid, was hardly practicable, were there no enemy to contend with. The windings were long and tedious, and difficult to be made out. The rugged way over the mountains, on the contrary, had no other difficulty in it than to endure thirſt for one day. Antony, therefore, changed his mind, and, ordering each man to take water along with him, took the mountain road by night. As there was not a ſufficient number of veſſels, ſome conveyed their water in helmets, and others in bladders.

The Parthians were informed of Antony's motions, and, contrary to cuſtom, purſued him in the night. About ſun-riſe they came up with the rear, weary as it was with toil and watching; for that night they had travelled thirty miles. In this condition they had to contend with an unexpected enemy, and being at once obliged to fight and continue their march, their

their thirſt became ſtill more inſupportable. At laſt the front came up to a river, the water of which was cool and clear, but being ſalt and acrimonious, it occaſioned a pain in the ſtomach and bowels that had been heated and inflamed with thirſt. The Mardian guide had, indeed, forewarned them of this, but the poor fellows rejecting the information that was brought them, drank eagerly of the ſtream. Antony, running amongſt the ranks, intreated them to forbear but a little. He told them that there was another river at no great diſtance, the water of which might be drank with ſafety; and that the way was ſo extremely rocky and uneven that it was impoſſible for the enemy's cavalry to purſue. At the ſame time he ſounded a retreat to call off ſuch as were engaged with the enemy, and gave the ſignal for pitching their tents, that they might at leaſt have the convenience of ſhade.

While the tents were fixing, and the Parthians, as uſual, retiring from the purſuit, Mithridates came again, and Alexander being ſent out to him, he adviſed that the Romans, after a little reſt, ſhould riſe and make for the river, becauſe the Parthians did not propoſe to carry their purſuit beyond it. Alexander reported this to Antony, and Mithridates being preſented with as many phials and cups of gold as he could conceal in his garments, once more left the camp. Antony, while it was yet day, ſtruck his tents, and marched, unmoleſted by the enemy. But ſo dreadful a night as followed he had never paſſed. Thoſe who were known to be poſſeſſed of gold or ſilver were ſlain and plundered, and the money that was conveyed in the baggage was made a prey of. Laſt of all Antony's baggage was ſeized, and the richeſt bowls and tables were cut aſunder and divided amongſt the plunderers. The greateſt error and diſtraction ran through the whole army, for it was concluded that the inroads of the enemy had occaſioned this flight and confuſion. Antony ſent for

one of his freedmen called Rhamnus, and made him ſwear that he would ſtab him and cut off his head, whenever he ſhould command him, that he might neither fall alive into the hands of the enemy, nor be known when dead. While his friends were weeping around him, the Mardian guide gave him ſome encouragement, by telling him that the river was at hand, as he could perceive by the cool freſhneſs of the air that iſſued from it, and that, of courſe, the troubles of his journey would ſoon be at an end, as the night nearly was. At the ſame time he was informed that all theſe diſorders had been occaſioned by the avarice of the ſoldiers, and he, therefore, ordered the ſignal for encamping that he might rectify his diſordered army *.

It was now day-light, and as ſoon as the troops were brought to a little order, the Parthians once more began to harraſs the rear. The ſignal was, therefore, given to the light-troops to engage, and the heavy armed received the arrows under a roof of ſhields as before. The Parthians, however, durſt not come any more to cloſe engagement, and when the front had advanced a little farther, the river was in ſight. Antony firſt drew up the cavalry on the banks to carry over the weak and wounded. The combat was now over, and the thirſty could enjoy their water in quiet. At ſight of the river the Parthians unſtrung their bows, and, with the higheſt encomiums on their bravery, bade their enemies paſs over in peace. They

* Plutarch does not in this place appear to be ſufficiently informed. The cauſe of this tumult in the army could not be the avarice of the ſoldiers only, ſince that might have operated long before, and at a time when they were capable of enjoying money. Their object now was the preſervation of life; and it was not wealth but water that they wanted. We muſt look for the cauſe of this diſorder then in ſome other circumſtance; and that probably was the report of their general's deſpair, or poſſibly of his death; for, otherwiſe, they would hardly have plundered his baggage. The fidelity and affection they had ſhewn him in all their diſtreſſes, afford a ſufficient argument on this behalf.

They did ſo, and after the neceſſary refreſhments, proceeded on their march, without much confidence in the Parthian praiſe or profeſſions. Within ſix days from the laſt battle they arrived at the river Araxes, which divides Media from Armenia. This river, on account of the depth and ſtrength of it's current, ſeemed difficult to paſs, and a rumour, moreover, ran through the army that the enemy was there in ambuſcade, to attack them as they forded it. However they paſſed over in ſafety, and when they ſet foot in Armenia, with the avidity of mariners when they firſt come on ſhore, they kiſſed the ground in adoration, and embraced each other with a pleaſure that could only expreſs itſelf in tears. The ill conſequences of their former extremities, however, diſcovered themſelves even here; for as they now paſſed through a country of plenty and profuſion, their too great indulgences threw them into the dropſy and the cholic. Antony, on reviewing his army, found that he had loſt twenty thouſand foot and four thouſand horſe, more than half of which had not died in battle, but by ſickneſs. They had been twenty-ſeven days in their return from Phraatæ, and had beaten the Parthians in eighteen engagements; but theſe victories were by no means complete, becauſe they could not proſecute their advantages by purſuit.

Hence it is evident that Artavaſdes deprived Antony of the fruits of his Parthian expedition: for had he been aſſiſted by the ſixteen thouſand horſe which he took with him out of Media, (who were armed like the Parthians, and accuſtomed to fight with them) after the Romans had beaten them in ſet battles, this cavalry might have taken up the purſuit, and harraſſed them in ſuch a manner, that they could not ſo often have rallied and returned to the charge. All, therefore, were exciting Antony to revenge himſelf on Artavaſdes. But he followed better counſels, and in his preſent weak and indigent con-

dition, he did not think proper to withhold the uſual reſpect and honours he had paid him. But when he came into Armenia on another occaſion, after having drawn him to a meeting by fair promiſes and invitations, he ſeized and carried him bound to Alexandria, where he led him in triumphal proceſſion. The Romans were offended at this triumph and at Antony, who had thus transferred the principal honours of their country to Egypt for the gratification of Cleopatra. Theſe things, however, happened in a later period of Antony's life.

The ſeverity of the winter, and perpetual ſnows, were ſo deſtructive to the troops, that, in his march, he loſt eight thouſand men. Accompanied by a ſmall party, he went down to the ſea-coaſt, and in a fort between Berytus and Sidon, called the *White Hair* *, he waited for Cleopatra. To divert his impatience on her delay, he had recourſe to feſtivity and intoxication; and he would frequently, over his cups, ſtart up from his ſeat, and run leaping and dancing to look out for her approach. At length ſhe came, and brought with her a large quantity of money and clothing for the army. Some, however, have aſſerted that ſhe brought nothing but the cloaths, and that Antony ſupplied the money, though he gave her the credit of it.

There happened at this time a quarrel between Phraates and the king of the Medes, occaſioned, as it is ſaid, by the diviſion of the Roman ſpoils, and the latter was apprehenſive of loſing his kingdom. He therefore ſent to Antony an offer of his aſſiſtance againſt the Parthians. Antony, who concluded that he had failed of conquering the Parthians only through want of cavalry and bowmen, and would here ſeem rather to confer than to receive a favour, determined once more to return to Armenia, and, after joining the king of the Medes at the river Araxes, to renew the war.

Octavia,

* Λευκη κομη.

Octavia, who was ſtill at Rome, now expreſſed a deſire of viſiting Antony, and Caeſar gave her his permiſſion, not according to the general opinion, merely to oblige her, but that the ill treatment and neglect which he concluded ſhe would meet with, might give him a pretence for renewing the war. When ſhe arrived at Athens, ſhe received letters from Antony, commanding her to continue there, and acquainting her with his new expedition. Theſe letters mortified her, for ſhe ſuſpected the expedition to be nothing more than a pretence; however, ſhe wrote to him, and deſired he would ſend his commands where ſhe ſhould leave the preſents ſhe had brought. Theſe preſents conſiſted of cloathing for the army, beaſts of burthen, money, and gifts for his officers and friends. Beſide theſe, ſhe had brought two thouſand picked men, fully equipped and armed for the general's cohort. Octavia ſent this letter by Niger, a friend of Antony's, who did not fail to pay her the compliments ſhe deſerved, but repreſented her to Antony in the moſt agreeable light.

Cleopatra dreaded her rival. She was apprehenſive that if ſhe came to Antony, the reſpectable gravity of her manners, added to the authority and intereſt of Caeſar, would carry off her huſband. She therefore pretended to be dying for the love of Antony, and to give a colour to her pretence, ſhe emaciated herſelf by abſtinence. At his approach ſhe taught her eye to expreſs an agreeable ſurprize, and when he left her, ſhe put on the look of languiſhment and dejection. Sometimes ſhe would endeavour to weep, and then, as if ſhe wiſhed to hide the tear from her tender Antony, ſhe affected to wipe it off unſeen.

Antony was, all this while, preparing for his Median expedition, and Cleopatra's creatures and dependants did not fail to reproach his unfeeling heart, which could ſuffer the woman whoſe life was

wrapped up in his, to die for his ſake. Octavia's marriage, they ſaid, was a mere political convenience, and it was enough for her that ſhe had the honour of being called his wife: Poor Cleopatra, though queen of a mighty nation, was called nothing more than his miſtreſs; yet even with this, for the ſake of his ſociety, ſhe could be content; but of that ſociety whenever ſhe ſhould be deprived, it would deprive her of life. Theſe inſinuations ſo totally unmanned him, that through fear of Cleopatra's putting an end to her life, he returned to Egypt, and put off the Mede till ſummer, though at that time the Parthian affairs were ſaid to be in a ſeditious and diſorderly ſituation. At length, however, he went into Armenia, and after entering into alliance with the Mede, and betrothing one of Cleopatra's ſons to a daughter of his who was very young, he returned, that he might attend to the civil war.

When Octavia returned from Athens, Caeſar looked upon the treatment ſhe had met with as a mark of the greateſt contempt, and he, therefore, ordered her to retire and live alone. However ſhe refuſed to quit her huſband's houſe, and moreover intreated Caeſar by no means to have recourſe to arms merely on her account. It would be infamous, ſhe ſaid, for the two chiefs of the Roman empire to involve the people in a civil war, one for the love of a woman, and the other out of jealouſy. By her own conduct ſhe added weight to her expoſtulations. She kept up the dignity of Antony's houſe, and took the ſame care of his children, as well thoſe that he had by Fulvia as her own, that ſhe could poſſibly have taken, had he been preſent. Antony's friends who were ſent to Rome to ſolicit honours or tranſact buſineſs, ſhe kindly entertained, and uſed her beſt offices with Caeſar to obtain what they requeſted. Yet even by this conduct ſhe was hurting Antony, contrary to her inclination. His injurious treatment of ſuch a woman excited a general indignation; and

the

the diſtribution he had made to his children in Alexandria, carried with it ſomething ſo imperious and ſo diſparaging to the Romans, that it increaſed that indignation not a little. The manner of doing it was extremely obnoxious. He ſummoned the people to the place of public exerciſe, and ordering two golden chairs to be placed on a tribunal of ſilver, one for himſelf and the other for Cleopatra, beſide lower ſeats for the children, he announced her queen of Egypt, Cyprus, Africa, and Coeloſyria, and nominated Caeſario, her ſon by Caeſar the dictator, her collegue. The ſons ſhe had by him he intitled Kings of Kings, and to Alexander he gave Armenia and Media, together with Parthia, when it ſhould be conquered. To Ptolemy he gave Phoenicia, Syria, and Cilicia. At the ſame time the children made their appearance, Alexander in a Median dreſs, with the turban and tiara; and Ptolemy in the long cloak and ſlippers, with a bonnet encircled by a diadem. The latter was dreſſed like the ſucceſſors of Alexander; the former like the Median and Armenian kings. When the children ſaluted their parents, one was attended by Armenian, the other by Macedonian guards. Cleopatra on this, and on other public occaſions, wore the ſacred robe of Iſis*, and affected to give audience to the people in the character and name of the *New Iſis*.

Caeſar expatiated on theſe things in the ſenate, and by frequent accuſations, incenſed the people againſt Antony. Antony did not fail to recriminate by his deputies. In the firſt place, he charged Caeſar with wreſting Sicily out of the hands of Pompey, and not dividing it with him. His next charge was, that Caeſar had never returned the ſhips he had borrowed of him: a third, that after reducing his collegue Lepidus to the condition of a private man, he

* This robe was of all colours, to ſignify the univerſality of the goddeſs's influence. The robe of Oſiris was of one colour only.

he had taken to himſelf his army, his province, and his tributes: laſtly, that he had diſtributed almoſt all the lands in Italy among his own ſoldiers, and had left nothing for his. To theſe Caeſar made anſwer, that Lepidus was reduced, from an incapacity of ſuſtaining his government; that what he had acquired by war he was ready to divide with Antony, and at the ſame time he expected to ſhare Armenia with him; that his ſoldiers had no right to lands in Italy, becauſe Media and Armenia, which by their bravery they had added to the Roman empire, had been allotted to them.

Antony being informed of theſe things in Armenia, immediately ſent Canidius to the ſea-coaſt with ſixteen legions. In the mean time he went to Epheſus attended by Cleopatra. There he aſſembled his fleet, which conſiſted of eight hundred ſhips of burthen, whereof Cleopatra furniſhed two hundred, beſide twenty thouſand talents, and proviſions for the whole army. Antony, by the advice of Domitius and ſome other friends, ordered Cleopatra to return to Egypt, and there to wait the event of the war. But the queen, apprehenſive that a reconciliation might take place, through the mediation of Octavia, by means of large bribes drew over Canidius to her intereſt. She prevailed on him to repreſent to Antony, that it was unreaſonable to refuſe ſo powerful an auxiliary the privilege of being preſent at the war; that her preſence was even neceſſary to animate and encourage the Egyptians, who made ſo conſiderable a part of his naval force; nor was Cleopatra, in point of abilities, inferior to any of the princes his allies; ſince ſhe had not only been a long time at the head of a conſiderable kingdom, but by her intercourſe with him, had learnt the adminiſtration of the greateſt affairs. Theſe remonſtrances, as the fates had decreed every thing for Caeſar, had the deſired effect, and they ſailed together for Samos, where they indulged in every ſpecies of luxury. For at the ſame

time that the kings, governors, ſtates and provinces, between Syria, the Mœotis, Armenia, and Lauria*, were commanded to ſend their contributions to the war, the whole tribe of players and muſicians were ordered to repair to Samos; and while almoſt the whole world beſide was venting it's anguiſh in groans and tears, that iſland alone was piping and dancing. The ſeveral cities ſent oxen for ſacrifice, and kings contended in the magnificence of their preſents and entertainments. So that it was natural to ſay, "What "kind of figure will theſe people make in their tri-"umph, when their very preparations for war are ſo "ſplendid!"

When theſe things were over, he gave Priene for the reſidence of the players and muſicians, and ſailed for Athens, where he once more renewed the farce of public entertainments. The Athenians had treated Octavia, when ſhe was at Athens, with the higheſt reſpect; and Cleopatra, jealous of the honours ſhe had received, endeavoured to court the people by every mark of favour. The people in return decreed her public honours, and ſent a deputation to wait on her with the decree. At the head of this deputation was Antony himſelf in character of a citizen of Athens, and he was prolocutor on the occaſion.

In the mean time he ſent ſome of his people to turn Octavia out of his houſe at Rome. When ſhe left it, it is ſaid ſhe took with her all his children, (except the eldeſt by Fulvia, who attended him) and deplored the ſeverity of her fate with tears, under the apprehenſion that ſhe would be looked upon as one of the cauſes of the civil war. The Romans pitied her ſufferings, but ſtill more the folly of Antony,

* As a mountain of no note in Attica does not ſeem proper to be mentioned with great kingdoms and provinces, it is ſuppoſed that we ought to read *Illyria* inſtead of *Lauria*. Illyria is afterwards mentioned as the boundary of Antony's dominions on that ſide.

tony, particularly ſuch as had ſeen Cleopatra; for ſhe was by no means preferable to Octavia either on account of her youth or beauty.

When Caeſar was informed of the celerity and magnificence of Antony's preparations, he was afraid of being forced into the war that ſummer. This would have been very inconvenient for him, as he was in want of almoſt every thing, and the levies of money occaſioned a general diſſatisfaction. The whole body of the people were taxed one fourth of their income, and the ſons of freedmen one eighth. This occaſioned the greateſt clamour and confuſion in Italy, and Antony certainly committed a very great overſight in neglecting the advantage. By his unaccountable delays he gave Caeſar an opportunity both to compleat his preparations and appeaſe the minds of the people. When the money was demanded, they murmured and mutinied; but after it was once paid they thought of it no longer.

Titius and Plancus, men of conſular dignity, and Antony's principal friends, being ill-uſed by Cleopatra on account of their oppoſing her ſtay in the army, abandoned him and went over to Caeſar. As they knew the contents of Antony's will, they preſently made him acquainted with them. This will was lodged in the hands of the veſtals; and when Caeſar demanded it they refuſed to ſend it; adding, that if he was determined to have it, he muſt come and take it himſelf. Accordingly he went and took it. Firſt of all he read it over to himſelf, and remarked ſuch paſſages as were moſt liable to cenſure. Afterwards he read it in the ſenate, and this gave a general offence *. It ſeemed to the greateſt part an abſurd and unprecedented thing that a man ſhould ſuffer in his life, for what he had ordered to be done after his death. Caeſar dwelt particularly on the orders

* This was an act of moſt injurious violence. Nothing could be more ſacred than a will depoſited in the hands of the veſtals.

ders he had given concerning his funeral. For, in caſe he died at Rome, he had directed his body to be carried in proceſſion through the *forum*, and afterwards conveyed to Alexandria to Cleopatra. Calviſius, a retainer of Caeſar's, alſo accuſed him of having given to Cleopatra the Pergamenian library, which conſiſted of two hundred thouſand volumes: and added, that once, when they ſupped in public, Antony roſe and trode on Cleopatra's foot * by way of ſignal for ſome rendezvous. He aſſerted, moreover, that he ſuffered the Epheſians in his preſence to call Cleopatra ſovereign; and that when he was preſiding at the adminiſtration of public affairs, attended by ſeveral tetrachs and kings, he received love-letters from her incloſed in onyx and cryſtal, and there peruſed them. Beſides, when Furnius, a man of great dignity and one of the ableſt of the Roman orators, was ſpeaking in public, Cleopatra was carried through the *forum* in a litter; upon which Antony immediately ſtarted up, and no longer paying his attention to the cauſe, accompanied her, leaning on the litter as he walked.

The veracity of Calviſius, in theſe accuſations, was, nevertheleſs, ſuſpected. The friends of Antony ſollicited the people in his behalf, and diſpatched Geminius, one of their number, to put him on his guard againſt the abrogation of his power, and his being declared an enemy to the Roman people. Geminius ſailed into Greece, and, on his arrival, was ſuſpected by Cleopatra as an agent of Octavia's. On this account he was contemptuouſly treated, and the loweſt ſeats were aſſigned him at the public ſuppers. This, however, he bore for ſome time with patience, in hopes of obtaining an interview with Antony: but being publicly called upon to declare the

* Τρίβειν τὰς πόδας. The former Engliſh tranſlator ſays, that *Antony took hold of her feet, and handled them.* Whatever idea he might have of Antony's familiarity, he ought not, ſurely, to have been ſo familiar with Plutarch.

the cauſe of his coming, he anſwered, that one part of the cauſe would require to be communicated at a ſober hour, but the other part could not be miſtaken, whether a man were drunk or ſober; for it was clear that all things would go well, if Cleopatra retired into Egypt. Antony was extremely chagrined; and Cleopatra ſaid, "You have done very well, Geminius, to confeſs without being put to the torture." Geminius ſoon after withdrew, and returned to Rome. Many more of Antony's friends were driven off by the creatures of Cleopatra, when they could no longer endure their inſolence and ſcurrility. Amongſt the reſt were Marcus Silanus, and Dellius the hiſtorian. The latter informs us that Cleopatra had a deſign upon his life, as he was told by Glaucus the phyſician; becauſe he had once affronted her at ſupper, by ſaying that while Sarmentus was drinking Falernian at Rome, they were obliged to take up with vinegar. Sarmentus was a boy of Caeſar's, one of thoſe creatures whom the Romans call *Deliciæ*.

When Caeſar had made his preparations, it was decreed that war ſhould be declared againſt Cleopatra; for that Antony could not be ſaid to poſſeſs that power which he had already given up to a woman. Caeſar obſerved, that he was like a man under enchantment, who has no longer any power over himſelf. It was not he, with whom they were going to war, but Mardion the eunuch, and Pothinus; Iras, Cleopatra's woman, and Charmion; for theſe had the principal direction of affairs. Several prodigies are ſaid to have happened previous to this war. Piſaurum, a colony of Antony's on the Adriatic, was ſwallowed up by an earthquake. Antony's ſtatue in Alba was covered with ſweat for many days, which returned though it was frequently wiped off. While he was at Patiæ, the temple of Hercules was ſet on fire by lightning: and at Athens the ſtatue of Bacchus was carried by a whirlwind from the Gigantomachia

machia into the Theatre. Theſe things concerned Antony the more nearly, as he affected to be a deſcendant of Hercules and an imitator of Bacchus, inſomuch that he was called the younger Bacchus. The ſame wind threw down the coloſſal ſtatues of Eumenes and Attalus, called the Antonii, while the reſt were unmoved. And in Cleopatra's royal galley, which was called *Antonias*, a terrible Phaenomenon appeared. Some ſwallows had built their neſts in the ſtern, and others drove them away and deſtroyed their young.

Upon the commencement of the war, Antony had no fewer than five hundred armed veſſels, magnificently adorned, and furniſhed with eight or ten banks of oars. He had, moreover, an hundred thouſand foot, and twelve thouſand horſe. The auxiliary kings, who fought under his banners, were Bocchus of Africa, Tarcondemus of the Upper Cilicia, Archelaus of Cappadocia, Philadelphus of Paphlagonia, Mithridates of Commagene, and Adallas of Thrace. Thoſe who did not attend in perſon, but ſent ſupplies, were Polemo of Pontus, Manchus of Arabia, Herod of Judea, And Amyntas king of Lycaonia and Galatia. Beſide theſe he had ſupplies alſo from the king of the Medes.—Caeſar had two hundred and fifty men of war, eighty thouſand foot, and an equal number of horſe with the enemy. Antony's dominions lay from the Euphrates and Armenia, to the Ionian ſea and Illyria: Caeſar's extended from Illyria to the weſtern ocean, and from that again to the Tuſcan and Sicilian ſea. He had likewiſe all that part of Africa which lies oppoſite to Italy, Gaul, and Spain, as far as the pillars of Hercules. The reſt of that country, from Cyrene to Ethiopia, was in the poſſeſſion of Antony.

But ſuch a ſlave was he to the will of a woman, that though much ſuperior at land, to gratify her, he put his whole confidence in the navy; notwithſtanding

ſtanding that the ſhips had not half their complement of men, and the officers were obliged to preſs and pick up in Greece vagrants, aſs-drivers, reapers and boys. Nor could they make up their numbers even with theſe, but many of the ſhips were ſtill almoſt empty. Caeſar's ſhips, which were not high-built or ſplendidly ſet off for ſhew, but tight good ſailors, well manned and equipped, continued in the harbours of Tarentum and Brunduſium. From thence he ſent to Antony, deſiring he would meet him with his forces, that no time might be loſt; offering at the ſame time to leave the ports and harbours free for his landing, and to withdraw his army a day's journey on horſeback, that he might make good his encampment. To this Antony returned a haughty anſwer, and though he was the older man, challenged Caeſar to ſingle combat; or if he ſhould decline this, he might meet him at Pharſalia, and decide it where Caeſar and Pompey had done before. Caeſar prevented this; for while Antony made for Actium, which is now called Nicopolis, he croſſed the Ionian, and ſeized on Toryne, a place in Epirus. Antony was diſtreſſed on finding this, becauſe he was without his infantry; but Cleopatra made a jeſt of it, and aſked him if it was ſo very dreadful a thing that Caeſar was got into the *Ladle* *.

Antony, as ſoon as it was day-light, perceived the enemy making up to him; and fearing that his ill-manned veſſels would be unable to ſtand the attack, he armed the rowers, and placing them on the decks to make a ſhew, with the oars ſuſpended on each ſide of the veſſels, he proceeded in this mock form of battle towards Actium. Caeſar was deceived by the ſtratagem and retired. The water about Caeſar's camp was both ſcarce and bad, and Antony had the addreſs to cut off the little that they had.

It

* In Greek *Toryne*.

It was much about this time that, contrary to the inclination of Cleopatra, he acted ſo generous a part by Domitius. The latter, even when he had a fever upon him, took a ſmall boat and went over to Caeſar: Antony, though he could not but reſent this, ſent after him his baggage, his friends and ſervants, and Domitius, as if it had been for grief that his treachery was diſcovered, died very ſoon after *. Amyntas and Deiotarus likewiſe went over to Caeſar.

Antony's fleet was ſo very unſucceſsful and ſo unfit for ſervice, that he was obliged at laſt to think of his land-forces; and Canidius, who had been retained in the intereſt of Cleopatra, now changing his mind, thought it neceſſary that ſhe ſhould be ſent away, and that Antony ſhould retire into Thrace or Macedonia to decide it in the field. Theſe places were thought of the rather, becauſe Dicomes, king of the Getæ, had offered to aſſiſt Antony with a large army. To give up the ſea to Caeſar, who, in his Sicilian wars, had acquired ſo much experience upon it, he ſaid, would be no diſgrace; but to give up the advantage which ſo able a general as himſelf might make of his land-forces, and waſte the ſtrength of ſo many legions in uſeleſs draughts for the ſea ſervice, would be infinitely abſurd. Cleopatra, however, prevailed for the deciſion by ſea; though her motive was not the ſuperior chance of victory, but, in caſe of being vanquiſhed, the better opportunity to eſcape.

There was a neck of land that lay between Antony's camp and his fleet, along which he uſed to go frequently from one to the other. Caeſar was informed

* Plutarch ſeems to be ill-informed about this matter. It is moſt probable that Domitius, one of the firmeſt friends of Antony, was delirious when he went over to Cæſar, and that Antony was ſenſible of this, when he ſent his attendants after him. It is poſſible, at the ſame time, that, when he returned to himſelf, the ſenſe of his deſertion might occaſion his death.

formed by a domeſtic how eaſy it might be to ſeize Antony in this paſſage, and he ſent a party to lie in wait for that purpoſe. They were ſo near carrying their point that they ſeized the perſon who went before Antony, and had they not been too haſty, he muſt have fallen into their hands, for it was with the greateſt difficulty that he made his eſcape by flight.

After it was determined to decide the affair by ſea, they ſet fire to all the Egyptian veſſels except ſixty. The beſt and largeſt ſhips from three ranks of oars to ten were ſelected, and theſe had their proper complement of men, for they were ſupplied with twenty thouſand foot and two thouſand archers. Upon this a Veteran warrior, an experienced officer in the infantry, who had often fought under Antony, and whoſe body was covered with ſcars, cried, pointing to thoſe ſcars, "Why will you, General, "diſtruſt theſe honeſt wounds, and reſt your hopes "on thoſe villainous wooden bottoms? Let the "Egyptians and the Phoenicians ſkirmiſh at ſea; "but give us at leaſt the land; for there it is that "we have learnt to conquer or to die." Antony made no anſwer, but ſeemed to encourage him by the motions of his hand and head; though, at the ſame time, he had no great confidence himſelf; for when the pilots would have left the ſails behind, he ordered them to take them all on board, pretending, indeed, that it ſhould be done to purſue the enemy's flight, not to facilitate his own.

On that and the three following days the ſea ran too high for an engagement: but on the fifth the weather was fine and the ſea calm. Antony and Poplicola led the right wing, Caelius the left, and Marcus Octavius and Marcus Juſtius commanded the centre. Caeſar had given his left wing to Agrippa, and led the right himſelf. Antony's land-forces were commanded by Canidius, and Caeſar's remained quiet on the ſhore, under the command of Taurus. As to the generals themſelves, Antony was rowed about

bout in a light veſſel, ordering his men, on account of the weight of their veſſels, to keep their ground and fight as ſteadily as if they were at land. He ordered his pilots to ſtand as firm as if they were at anchor, in that poſition to receive the attacks of the enemy, and by all means to avoid the diſadvantage of the ſtreights. Caeſar, when he left his tent before day, to review his fleet, met a man, who was driving an aſs. Upon aſking his name, the man anſwered my name is *Eutychus*, and the name of my aſs is *Nicon* *. The place where he met him was afterwards adorned with trophies of the beaks of ſhips, and there he placed the ſtatue of the aſs and his driver in braſs. After having reviewed the whole fleet, and taken his poſt in the right wing, he attended to the fleet of the enemy, which he was ſurpriſed to find ſteady and motionleſs as if it lay at anchor. For ſome time he was of opinion that it was ſo, and for that reaſon, he kept back his fleet at the diſtance of eight furlongs. About noon there was a briſk gale from the ſea, and Antony's forces being impatient for the combat, and truſting to the height and bulk of their veſſels, which they thought would render them invincible, put the left wing in motion. Caeſar rejoiced at the ſight of this, and kept back his right wing, that he might the more effectually draw them out to the open ſea, where his light gallies could eaſily ſurround the heavy half-manned veſſels of the enemy.

The attack was not made with any violence or impetuoſity: for Antony's ſhips were too heavy for that kind of rapid impreſſion, which, however, is very neceſſary for the breach of the enemy's veſſel. On the other hand, Caeſar's ſhips durſt neither encounter head to head with Antony's, on account of the ſtrength and roughneſs of their beaks, nor yet attack them on the ſides, ſince by means of their

* Good fortune and victory.

weight they would eaſily have broken their beaks, which were made of large ſquare pieces of timber faſtened to each other with iron cramps. The engagement, therefore, was like a battle at land, rather than a ſea-fight, or, more properly, like the ſtorming of a town: for there were generally three or more ſhips of Caeſar's about one of Antony's, aſſaulting it with pikes, javelins, and fire-brands, while Antony's men, out of their wooden towers * threw weapons of various kinds from engines. Agrippa opened his left wing with a deſign to ſurround the enemy, and Poplicola, in his endeavour to prevent him was ſeparated from the main body, which threw it into diſorder, while at the ſame time it was attacked with great vigour by Arruntius †. When things were in this ſituation, and nothing deciſive was yet effected, Cleopatra's ſixty ſhips on a ſudden hoiſted their ſails, and fairly took to flight through the midſt of the combatants; for they were placed in the rear of the large veſſels, and by breaking their way through them they occaſioned no ſmall confuſion. The enemy ſaw them with aſtoniſhment making their way with a fair wind for the Peloponneſus. Antony, on this occaſion, forgot both the general and the man; and as ſome author has pleaſantly obſerved, *that a lover's ſoul lives in the body of his miſtreſs*, ſo, as if he had been abſolutely incorporated with her, he ſuffered her to carry him ſoul and body away. No ſooner did he ſee her veſſel hoiſting ſail, than forgetting every other object, forgetting thoſe brave friends that were ſhedding their blood in his cauſe, he took a five oared galley, and accompanied only by Alexander the Syrian and Scellius, followed her who was firſt the cauſe, and now the accompliſher of his ruin. Her own deſtruction was certain,

* His ſhips are ſo called on account of their tallneſs.

† Arruntius muſt have commanded Caeſar's centre, though that circumſtance is not mentioned.

tain, and he voluntarily involved himſelf in her fate.

When ſhe ſaw him coming, ſhe put up a ſignal in her veſſel, on which he ſoon went aboard: neither of them could look each other in the face, and Antony ſate down at the head of the ſhip, where he remained in ſombre ſilence, holding his head between his hands. In the mean time, Caeſar's light ſhips that were in purſuit of Antony, came in ſight. Upon this he ordered his pilot to tack about and meet them; but they all declined the engagement and made off, except Eurycles the Lacedaemonian, who ſhook his lance at him in a menacing manner on the deck. Antony ſtanding at the head of his galley, cried, "Who art thou that thus purſueſt Antony?" He anſwered, "I am Eurycles the ſon of "Lachares, and follow the fortunes of Caeſar to "revenge my father's death." This Lachares Antony had beheaded for a robbery. Eurycles, however, did not attack Antony's veſſel, but fell upon the other admiral-galley (for there were two of that rank) and by the ſhock turned her round. He took that veſſel and another which contained Antony's moſt valuable plate and furniture. When Eurycles was gone, Antony returned to the ſame penſive poſture; and continuing thus for three days, during which either through ſhame or reſentment he refuſed to ſee Cleopatra, he arrived at Taenarus. There, the women who attended them, firſt brought them to ſpeak to each other, then to dine together, and not long after, as it may be ſuppoſed, to ſleep together. At laſt ſeveral of his tranſports, and ſome of his friends who had eſcaped from the defeat, came up with him, and informed him that his fleet was totally deſtroyed, but that his land-forces were yet unhurt. Hereupon he ſent orders to Canidius immediately to march his army through Macedonia into Aſia. As for himſelf, he determined to ſail from Taenarus into Africa, and dividing one ſhip-load of

treaſure amongſt his friends, he deſired them to provide for their own ſafety. They refuſed the treaſure, and expreſſed their ſorrow in tears; while Antony, with the kindeſt and moſt humane conſolations, intreated them to accept it, and diſmiſſed them with letters of recommendation to his agent at Corinth, whom he ordered to give them refuge 'till they could be reconciled to Caeſar. This agent was Theophilus the father of Hipparchus, who had great intereſt with Antony; but was the firſt of his freedmen that went over to Caeſar. He afterwards ſettled at Corinth.

In this poſture were the affairs of Antony. After his fleet at Actium had long ſtruggled with Caeſar's, a hard gale which blew right a-head of the ſhips, obliged them to give out about four in the afternoon. About five thouſand men were ſlain in the action, and Caeſar, according to his own account, took three hundred ſhips. Antony's flight was obſerved by few, and to thoſe who had not ſeen it, it was, at firſt incredible. They could not poſſibly believe that a general, who had nineteen legions and twelve thouſand horſe, a general to whom viciſſitude of fortune was nothing new, would ſo baſely deſert them. His ſoldiers had an inexpreſſible deſire to ſee him, and ſtill expecting that he would appear in ſome part or other, gave the ſtrongeſt teſtimony of their courage and fidelity. Nay, when they were even convinced that he was irrecoverably fled, they continued embodied for ſeven days, and would not liſten to the ambaſſadors of Caeſar. At laſt, however, when Canidius who commanded them fled from the camp by night, and when they were abandoned by their principal officers, they ſurrendered to Caeſar.

After this great ſucceſs, Caeſar ſailed for Athens. The cities of Greece he found in extreme poverty; for they had been plundered of their cattle and every thing elſe before the war. He, therefore, not only admitted them to favour, but made a diſtribution amongſt

mongſt them of the remainder of the corn which had been provided for the war. My great grandfather Nicarchus uſed to relate that as the inhabitants of Chaeronea had no horſes, they were compelled to carry a certain quantity of corn on their ſhoulders to the ſea-coaſt as far as Anticyra, and were driven by ſoldiers with ſtripes like ſo many beaſts of burthen. This, however, was done but once: for when the corn was meaſured a ſecond time, and they were preparing to carry it, news came of Antony's defeat, and this ſaved the city from further hardſhips; for the commiſſaries and ſoldiers immediately took to flight, and left the poor inhabitants to ſhare the corn amongſt themſelves.

When Antony arrived in Libya, he ſent Cleopatra from Paraetonium into Egypt, and retired to a melancholy deſart, where he wandered up and down, with only two attendants. One of theſe was Ariſtocrates the Greek rhetorician: The other was Lucilius, concerning whom it has been mentioned in another place, that, to favour the eſcape of Brutus at the battle of Philippi, he aſſumed his name, and ſuffered himſelf to be taken. Antony ſaved him, and he was ſo grateful that he attended him to the laſt.

When Antony was informed that he who commanded his troops in Libya was gone over to the enemy, he attempted to lay violent hands on himſelf: but he was prevented by his friends, who conveyed him to Alexandria, where he found Cleopatra engaged in a very bold enterprize.

Between the red ſea and the Egyptian, there is an Iſthmus which divides Aſia from Africa, and which, in the narroweſt part, is about three hundred furlongs in breadth. Cleopatra had formed a deſign of drawing her gallies over this part into the red ſea, and purpoſed with all her wealth and forces to ſeek ſome remote country, where ſhe might neither be reduced to ſlavery, nor involved in war. However,

the firſt gallies that were carried over, being burnt by the Arabians of Petra *, and Antony not knowing that his land-forces were diſperſed, ſhe gave up this enterprize, and began to fortify the avenues of her kingdom. Antony in the mean time forſook the city and the ſociety of his friends, and retired to a ſmall houſe which he had built himſelf near Pharos on a mound he had caſt up in the ſea. In this place, ſequeſtered from all commerce with mankind, he affected to live like Timon, becauſe there was a reſemblance in their fortunes. He had been deſerted by his friends, and their ingratitude had put him out of humour with his own ſpecies.

This Timon was a citizen of Athens, and lived about the time of the Peloponneſian war, as appears from the comedies of Ariſtophanes and Plato, in which he is expoſed as the hater of mankind. Yet though he hated mankind in general, he careſſed the bold and impudent boy Alcibiades, and being aſked the reaſon of this by Apemantus, who expreſſed ſome ſurprize at it, he anſwered, it was becauſe he foreſaw that he would plague the people of Athens. Apemantus was the only one he admitted to his ſociety, and he was his friend in point of principle. At the feaſt of ſacrifices for the dead, theſe two dined by themſelves, and when Apemantus obſerved that the feaſt was excellent, Timon anſwered, "It would "be ſo if you were not here." Once in an aſſembly of the people, he mounted the roſtrum, and the novelty of the thing occaſioning an univerſal ſilence and expectation, at length he ſaid, "People of A"thens, there is a fig-tree in my yard, on which "many worthy citizens have hanged themſelves; and "as I have determined to build upon the ſpot, I "thought it neceſſary to give this public notice, "that

* Dion tells us that the veſſels which were burnt were not thoſe that were drawn over the Iſthmus, but ſome that had been built on that ſide. Lib. 51.

" that ſuch as chuſe to have recourſe to this tree for " the aforeſaid purpoſe, may repair to it before it is " cut down." He was buried at Halæ near the ſea, and the water ſurrounded his tomb in ſuch a manner, that he was even then inacceſſible to mankind. The following epitaph is inſcribed on his monument;

At laſt, I've bid the knaves farewell;
Aſk not my name——But go——to hell.

It is ſaid that he wrote this epitaph himſelf. That which is commonly repeated was written by Callimachus.

My name is Timon; knaves begone!
Curſe me, but come not near my ſtone!

Theſe are ſome of the many anecdotes we have concerning Timon.

Canidius himſelf brought Antony news of the defection of his army. Soon after, he heard that Herod of Judea was gone over to Caeſar with ſome legions and cohorts, that ſeveral other powers had deſerted his intereſt, and, in ſhort, that he had no foreign aſſiſtance to depend upon. None of theſe things, however, diſturbed him; for, at once abandoning his hopes and his cares, he left his Timonian retreat, and returned to Alexandria; where, in the palace of Cleopatra, he once more entertained the citizens with his uſual feſtivity and munificence. He gave the *toga virilis* to Antyllus, his ſon by Fulvia, and admitted Cleopatra's ſon by Caeſar into the order of young men. The entertainments on this occaſion were infinitely pompous and magnificent, and laſted many days.

Antony and Cleopatra had before eſtabliſhed a ſociety called the *Inimitable Livers*, of which they were members; but they now inſtituted another by no means inferior in ſplendor or luxury, called *The Companions in Death*. Their friends were admitted into this, and the time paſſed in mutual treats and diverſions,

diverſions. Cleopatra, at the ſame time, was making a collection of poiſonous drugs, and being deſirous to know which was leaſt painful in the operation, ſhe tried them on the capital convicts. Such poiſons as were quick in their operation ſhe found to be attended with violent pain and convulſions; ſuch as were milder were ſlow in their effect: ſhe, therefore, applied herſelf to the examination of venomous creatures, and cauſed different kinds of them to be applied to different perſons under her own inſpection. Theſe experiments ſhe repeated daily, and at length ſhe found that the bite of the aſp was the moſt eligible kind of death; for it brought on a gradual kind of lethargy, in which the face was covered with a gentle ſweat, and the ſenſes ſunk eaſily into ſtupefaction: and thoſe who were thus affected ſhewed the ſame uneaſineſs at being diſturbed or awaked, that people do in the profoundeſt natural ſleep *.

They both ſent ambaſſadors to Caeſar in Aſia. Cleopatra requeſted Egypt for her children, and Antony only petitioned that he might be permitted to live as a private man in Egypt, or if that were too much, that he might retire to Athens. Deſerted as they were by almoſt all their friends, and hardly knowing in whom to confide, they were forced to ſend Euphronius their childrens tutor on this embaſſy. Alexas of Laodicea, who, by means of Timagenes, became acquainted with Antony at Rome, a man of great ſkill in the Greek learning, and one of Cleopatra's chief agents in keeping Antony from Octavia, he had before diſpatched to Judea to retain Herod in his intereſt. This man gave up Antony, and, relying on Herod's intereſt, had the confidence to appear before Caeſar. The intereſt of Herod, however, did not ſave him; for he was immediately carried in chains into his own country and there put to death. Thus Antony had, at leaſt, the

* *Aſpis ſomniculoſa.* Siſen.

the ſatisfaction of ſeeing him puniſhed for his perfidy.

Cæſar abſolutely rejected Antony's petition; but he anſwered Cleopatra, that ſhe might expect every favour from him provided ſhe either took off Antony, or baniſhed him her dominions. At the ſame time he ſent Thyreus* to her, who was one of his freedmen, and whoſe addreſs was not unlikely to carry his point, particularly as he came from a young conqueror to the court of a vain and ambitious queen, who had ſtill the higheſt opinion of her perſonal charms†. As this ambaſſador was indulged with audiences longer and more frequent than uſual, Antony grew jealous, and having firſt ordered him to be whipped, he ſent him back to Cæſar with letters, wherein he informed him that he had been provoked by the inſolence of his freedman at a time when his misfortunes made him but too prone to anger. "However," added he, "you have a freedman of "mine, Hipparchus, in your power, and if it will "be any ſatisfaction to you, uſe him in the ſame "manner." Cleopatra, that ſhe might make ſome amends for her indiſcretion, behaved to him afterwards with great tenderneſs and reſpect. She kept her birth-day in a manner ſuitable to their unhappy circumſtances; but his was celebrated with ſuch magnificence,

* Dion calls him Thyrſus. Antony and Cleopatra ſent other ambaſſadors to Cæſar with offers of conſiderable treaſures, and laſt of all Antony ſent his ſon Antyllus with large ſums of gold. Cæſar, with that meanneſs which made a part of his character, took the gold, but granted him none of his requeſts. Fearing, however, that deſpair might put Antony upon the reſolution of carrying the war into Spain or Gaul, or provoke him to burn the wealth that Cleopatra had been amaſſing, he ſent this Thyreus to Alexandria.

† Dion ſays, that Thyreus was inſtructed to make uſe of the ſofteſt addreſs, and to inſinuate that Cæſar was captivated with her beauty. The object of this meaſure was to prevail on her to take off Antony, while ſhe was flattered with the proſpect of obtaining the Conqueror.

magnificence, that many of the guests who came poor, returned wealthy.

After Antony's overthrow, Agrippa wrote several letters to Caesar to inform him that his presence was necessary at Rome. This put off the war for some time; but as soon as the winter was over, Caesar marched against Antony by the route of Syria, and sent his lieutenants on the same business into Africa. When Pelusium was taken, it was rumoured that Seleucus had delivered up the place with the connivance or consent of Cleopatra: whereupon, the queen, in order to justify herself, gave up the wife and children of Seleucus into the hands of Antony. Cleopatra had erected near the temple of Isis some monuments of extraordinary size and magnificence. To these she removed her treasure, her gold, silver, emeralds, pearls, ebony, ivory and cinnamon, together with a large quantity of flax, and a number of torches. Caesar was under some apprehensions about this immense wealth, lest, upon some sudden emergency, she should set fire to the whole. For this reason he was continually sending messengers to her with assurances of gentle and honourable treatment, while in the mean time he hastened to the city with his army.

When he arrived he encamped near the Hippodrome; upon which Antony made a brisk sally, routed the cavalry, drove them back into their trenches, and returned to the city with the complacency of a conqueror. As he was going to the palace he met Cleopatra, whom, armed as he was, he kissed without ceremony, and at the same time he recommended to her favour a brave soldier who had distinguished himself in the engagement. She presented the soldier with a Cuirass and helmet of gold, which he took, and the same night went over to Caesar. After this, Antony challenged Caesar to fight him in single combat, but Caesar only answered that *Antony might think of many other ways to end his life.*

life. Antony, therefore, concluding that he could not die more honourably than in battle, determined to attack Caeſar at the ſame time both by ſea and land. The night preceding the execution of this deſign, he ordered his ſervants at ſupper to render him their beſt ſervices that evening, and fill the wine round plentifully; for the day following they might belong to another maſter, whilſt he lay extended on the ground, no longer of conſequence either to them or to himſelf. His friends were affected, and wept to hear him talk thus; which when he perceived, he encouraged them by aſſurances that his expectations of a glorious victory were at leaſt equal to thoſe of an honourable death. At the dead of night, when univerſal ſilence reigned through the city, a ſilence that was deepened by the aweful thought of the enſuing day, on a ſudden was heard the ſound of muſical inſtruments, and a noiſe which reſembled the exclamations of Bacchanals. This tumultuous proceſſion ſeemed to paſs through the whole city, and to go out at the gate which led to the enemy's camp. Thoſe who reflected on this prodigy, concluded that Bacchus, the god whom Antony affected to imitate, had then forſaken him.

As ſoon as it was light, he led his infantry out of the city, and poſted them on a riſing ground, from whence he ſaw his fleet advance towards the enemy. There he ſtood waiting for the event; but as ſoon as the two fleets met, they hailed each other with their oars in a very friendly manner, (Antony's fleet making the firſt advances) and ſailed together peaceably towards the city. This was no ſooner done, than the cavalry deſerted him in the ſame manner, and ſurrendered to Caeſar. His infantry were routed; and as he retired to the city, he exclaimed that Cleopatra had betrayed him to thoſe with whom he was fighting only for her ſake.

The unhappy queen, dreading the effects of his anger, fled to her monument, and having ſecured it

it as much as poſſible with bars and bolts, ſhe gave orders that Antony ſhould be informed ſhe was dead. Believing the information to be true, he cried, "Antony, why doſt thou delay? What is life to thee, "when it is taken from her, for whom alone thou "couldſt wiſh to live?" He then went to his chamber, and opening his coat of mail, he ſaid, "I am not diſtreſſed, Cleopatra, that thou art gone "before me, for I ſhall ſoon be with thee; but I "grieve to think that I who have been ſo diſtinguiſhed a general, ſhould be inferior in magnanimity to a woman." He was then attended by a faithful ſervant, whoſe name was *Eros*. He had engaged this ſervant to kill him, whenever he ſhould think it neceſſary, and he now demanded that ſervice. Eros drew his ſword, as if he deſigned to kill him; but, ſuddenly turning about, he ſlew himſelf, and fell at his maſter's feet. "This, Eros, was "greatly done," ſaid Antony; thy heart would not "permit thee to kill thy maſter, but thou haſt "taught him what to do by thy example." He then plunged his ſword into his bowels, and threw himſelf on a couch that ſtood by. The wound, however, was not ſo deep as to cauſe immediate death; and the blood ſtopping as he lay on the couch, he came to himſelf, and intreated thoſe who ſtood by to put him out of his pain. They all fled, nevertheleſs, and left him to his cries and torments, till Diomedes, ſecretary to Cleopatra, came with her requeſt, that he would come to her in the monument. When Antony found that ſhe was ſtill living, it gave him freſh ſpirits, and he ordered his ſervants to take him up. Accordingly they carried him in their arms to the door of the monument. Cleopatra would not ſuffer the door to be opened, but a cord being let down from a window, Antony was faſtened to it, and ſhe, with her two women, all that were admitted into the monument, drew him up.

up. Nothing, as they who were preſent obſerved, could poſſibly be more affecting than that ſpectacle. Antony covered with blood, and in the agonies of death, hoiſted up by the rope, and ſtretching out his hands to Cleopatra, while he was ſuſpended, for a conſiderable time, in the air! For it was with the greateſt difficulty they drew him up, though Cleopatra herſelf exerted all her ſtrength, ſtraining every nerve, and diſtorting every feature with the violence of the effort; while thoſe who ſtood below endeavoured to animate and encourage her, and ſeemed to partake in all the toil, and all the emotions that ſhe felt. When ſhe had drawn him up, and laid him on a bed, as ſhe ſtood over him, ſhe rent her cloaths, beat and wounded her breaſt, and wiping the blood from his disfigured countenance, ſhe called him her lord, her emperor, her huſband! Her whole ſoul was abſorbed in his misfortunes; and ſhe ſeemed totally to have forgot that ſhe had any miſeries of her own. Antony endeavoured to ſoothe her as well as he was able, and called for wine; either becauſe he was thirſty, or becauſe he thought it might ſooner put him out of his pain. When he had drank, he adviſed her to conſult her own affairs, and her ſafety, ſo far as might be conſiſtent with honour, and to place her confidence in Proculeius rather than in the other friends of Caeſar. "As to himſelf," he ſaid, "that ſhe ought rather "to rejoice in the remembrance of his paſt happi-"neſs, than to bewail his preſent misfortunes; ſince "in his life he had been illuſtrious, and was not "inglorious in his death. He had conquered like "a Roman, and it was only by a Roman that he "was conquered." A little before he expired, Proculeius arrived from Caeſar: For after Antony had ſtabbed himſelf, and was conveyed to Cleopatra, Dercetaeus, one of his guards, privately carried off his bloody ſword, and ſhewed it to Caeſar. When Caeſar beheld this token of Antony's death, he retired

tired to the inner part of his tent, and ſhed ſome tears in remembrance of a man who had been his relation, his collegue in government, and his aſſociate in ſo many battles and ſuch important affairs *. He then called his friends together, and read the letters which had paſſed between him and Antony, wherein it appeared that, though Caeſar had ſtill written in a rational and equitable manner, the anſwers of Antony were inſolent and contemptuous. After this, he diſpatched Proculeius with orders to take Cleopatra alive, if it were poſſible, for he was extremely ſollicitous to ſave the treaſures in the monument, which would ſo greatly add to the glory of his triumph. However, ſhe refuſed to admit him into the monument, and would only ſpeak to him through the bolted gate. The ſubſtance of this conference was, that Cleopatra made a requiſition of the kingdom for her children, while Proculeius, on the other hand, encouraged her to truſt every thing to Caeſar.

After he had reconnoitred the place, he ſent an account of it to Caeſar; upon which Gallus was diſpatched to confer with Cleopatra. The thing was thus concerted. Gallus went up to the gate of the monument, and drew Cleopatra into converſation, while, in the mean time, Proculeius applied a ladder to the window, where the women had taken in Antony; and having got in with two ſervants, he immediately made for the place where Cleopatra was in conference with Gallus. One of her women diſcovered him, and immediately ſcreamed aloud; "Wretched Cleopatra, you are taken alive." She turned about, and, ſeeing Proculeius, the ſame inſtant

* This retirement of Caeſar was certainly an affectation of concern. The death of Antony had been an invariable object with him. He was too cowardly to think himſelf ſafe while he lived; and to expoſe his weakneſs by reading his letters the moment he was informed of his death, was certainly no proof that he felt even then any tenderneſs for his memory.

ſtant attempted to ſtab herſelf; for to this intent ſhe always carried a dagger about with her. Proculeius, however, prevented her, and, expoſtulating with her, as he held her in his arms, he intreated her not to be ſo injurious to herſelf or to Caeſar;—that ſhe would not deprive ſo humane a prince of the glory of his clemency, or expoſe him by her diſtruſt to the imputation of treachery or cruelty. At the ſame time, he took the dagger from her, and ſhook her cloaths, leſt ſhe ſhould have poiſon concealed about her. Caeſar alſo ſent his freedman Epaphroditus with orders to treat her with the greateſt politeneſs, but, by all means, to bring her alive.

Caeſar entered Alexandria converſing with Arius the philoſopher; and that he might do him honour before the people, he led him by the hand. When he entered the Gymnaſium, he aſcended a tribunal which had been erected for him, and gave aſſurances to the citizens who proſtrated themſelves before him, that the city ſhould not be hurt. He told them he had different motives for this. In the firſt place, it was built by Alexander; in the next place, he admired it for its beauty and magnitude; and, laſtly, he would ſpare it, were it but for the ſake of his friend Arius, who was born there. Caeſar gave him the high honour of this appellation, and pardoned many at his requeſt. Amongſt theſe was Philoſtratus, one of the moſt acute and eloquent ſophiſts of his time. This man, without any right, pretended to be a follower of the academics; and Caeſar, from a bad opinion of his morals, rejected his petition: Upon which the ſophiſt followed Arius up and down in a mourning cloak, with a long white beard, crying conſtantly,

"The wiſe, if really ſuch, will ſave the wiſe."

Caeſar heard and pardoned him, not ſo much out of favour, as to ſave Arius from the impertinence and envy he might incur on his account.

Antyllus, the eldeſt ſon of Antony by Fulvia, was betrayed by his tutor Theodorus and put to death. While the ſoldiers were beheading him, the tutor ſtole a jewel of conſiderable value, which he wore about his neck, and concealed it in his girdle. When he was charged with it, he denied the fact; but the jewel was found upon him, and he was crucified. Caeſar appointed a guard over Cleopatra's children and their governors, and allowed them an honourable ſupport. Caeſario, the reputed ſon of Caeſar the dictator, had been ſent by his mother, with a conſiderable ſum of money, through Æthiopia into India: But Rhodon, his governor, a man of the ſame principles with Theodorus, perſuading him that Caeſar would certainly make him king of Egypt, prevailed on him to turn back. While Caeſar was deliberating how he ſhould diſpoſe of him, Arius is ſaid to have obſerved, that there ought not, by any means, to be too many Caeſars. However, ſoon after the death of Cleopatra, he was ſlain.

Many conſiderable princes begged the body of Antony, that they might have the honour of giving it burial; but Caeſar would not take it from Cleopatra, who interred it with her own hands, and performed the funeral rites with great magnificence; for ſhe was allowed to expend what ſhe thought proper on the occaſion. The exceſs of her affliction, and the inflammation of her breaſt, which was wounded by the blows ſhe had given it in her anguiſh, threw her into a fever. She was pleaſed to find an excuſe in this for abſtaining from food, and hoped, by this means, to die without interruption. The phyſician in whom ſhe placed her principal confidence was Olympus; and, according to his ſhort account of theſe tranſactions, ſhe made uſe of his advice in the accompliſhment of her deſign. Caeſar, however, ſuſpected it; and that he might prevail on her to take the neceſſary food and phyſic,

he threatened to treat her children with ſeverity. This had the deſired effect, and her reſolution was overborne *.

A few days after, Caeſar himſelf made her a viſit of condolence and conſolation. She was then in an undreſs, and lying negligently on a couch; but when the conqueror entered the apartment, though ſhe had nothing on but a ſingle bed-gown, ſhe aroſe and threw herſelf at his feet. Her face was out of figure, her hair in diſorder, her voice trembling, her eyes ſunk, and her boſom bore the marks of the injuries ſhe had done it. In ſhort, her perſon gave you the image of her mind; yet, in this deplorable condition, there were ſome remains of that grace, that ſpirit and vivacity which had ſo peculiarly animated her former charms, and ſtill ſome gleams of her native elegance might be ſeen to wander over her melancholy countenance †.

When Caeſar had replaced her on her couch, and ſeated himſelf by her, ſhe endeavoured to juſtify the part ſhe took againſt him in the war, alledging the neceſſity ſhe was under, and her fear of Antony. But when ſhe found that theſe apologies had no weight with Caeſar, ſhe had recourſe to prayers and intreaties, as if ſhe had been really deſirous of life; and, at the ſame time, ſhe put into his hands an

* Cleopatra certainly poſſeſſed the virtues of fidelity and natural affection in a very eminent degree. She had ſeveral opportunities of betraying Antony, could ſhe have been induced to it either by fear or ambition. Her tenderneſs for her children is always ſuperior to her ſelf-love; and ſhe had a greatneſs of ſoul which Caeſar never knew.

† Dion gives a more pompous account of her reception of Caeſar. She received him, he tells us, in a magnificent apartment, lying on a ſplendid bed, in a mourning habit, which peculiarly became her; that ſhe had ſeveral pictures of Julius Caeſar placed near her; and ſome letters ſhe had received from him in her boſom. The converſation turned on the ſame ſubject; and her ſpeech on the occaſion is recorded. Dion, L. 54.

inventory of her treaſure. Seleucus, one of her treaſurers, who was preſent, accuſed her of ſuppreſſing ſome articles in the account; upon which ſhe ſtarted up from her couch, caught him by the hair, and gave him ſeveral blows on the face. Caeſar ſmiled at this ſpirited reſentment, and endeavoured to pacify her: "But how is it to be borne," ſaid ſhe, "Caeſar, if, while even you honour me "with a viſit in my wretched ſituation, I muſt be "affronted by one of my own ſervants? Suppoſing "that I have reſerved a few trinkets, they were by "no means intended as ornaments for my own per-"ſon in theſe miſerable fortunes, but as little pre-"ſents for Octavia and Livia, by whoſe good offices "I might hope to find favour with you." Caeſar was not diſpleaſed to hear this, becauſe he flattered himſelf that ſhe was willing to live. He, therefore, aſſured her, that, whatever ſhe had reſerved, ſhe might diſpoſe of at her pleaſure; and that ſhe might, in every reſpect, depend on the moſt honourable treatment. After this he took his leave, in confidence that he had brought her to his purpoſe, but ſhe deceived him.

There was in Caeſar's train a young nobleman, whoſe name was Cornelius Dolabella. He was ſmitten with the charms of Cleopatra, and having engaged to communicate to her every thing that paſſed, he ſent her private notice that Caeſar was about to return into Syria, and that, within three days, ſhe would be ſent away with her children. When ſhe was informed of this, ſhe requeſted of Caeſar permiſſion to make her laſt oblations to Antony. This being granted, ſhe was conveyed to the place where he was buried; and kneeling at his tomb, with her women, ſhe thus addreſſed the manes of the dead: "It is not long, my Antony, "ſince with theſe hands I buried thee. Alas! they "then were free; but thy Cleopatra is now a pri-"ſoner, attended by a guard, leſt, in the tranſports

of

"of her grief, ſhe ſhould diſfigure this captive "body, which is reſerved to adorn the triumph over "thee. Theſe are the laſt offerings, the laſt honours "ſhe can pay thee; for ſhe is now to be conveyed "to a diſtant country. Nothing could part us "while we lived; but in death we are to be divided. "Thou, though a Roman, lieſt buried in Egypt; "and I, an Egyptian, muſt be interred in Italy, "the only favour I ſhall receive from thy country. "Yet, if the gods of Rome have power or mercy "left, (for ſurely thoſe of Egypt have forſaken us) * "let them not ſuffer me to be led in living triumph "to thy diſgrace! No!—hide me, hide me with "thee in the grave; for life, ſince thou haſt left "it, has been miſery to *me*."

Thus the unhappy queen bewailed her misfortunes; and, after ſhe had crowned the tomb with flowers and kiſſed it, ſhe ordered her bath to be prepared. When ſhe had bathed, ſhe ſate down to a magnificent ſupper; ſoon after which, a peaſant came to the gate with a ſmall baſket. The guards enquired what it contained; and the man who brought it, putting by the leaves which lay uppermoſt, ſhewed them a parcel of figs. As they admired their ſize and beauty, he ſmiled and bade them take ſome; but they refuſed, and, not ſuſpecting that the baſket contained any thing elſe, it was carried in. After ſupper Cleopatra ſent a letter to Caeſar, and, ordering every body out of the monument, except her two women, ſhe made faſt the door. When Caeſar opened the letter, the plaintive ſtyle in which it was written, and the ſtrong requeſt that ſhe

* It was the opinion of the ancients, that the gods forſook the vanquiſhed. Thus *Virgil*:

Exceſſêre omnes, adytis ariſque relictis,
Dii, quibus imperium hoc ſteterat. Æn. xi.

And *Tacitus*,

Alieni jam imperii deos.

ſhe might be buried in the ſame tomb with Antony, made him ſuſpect her deſign. At firſt he was for haſting to her himſelf, but he changed his mind, and diſpatched others *. Her death, however, was ſo ſudden, that though they who were ſent, ran the whole way, alarmed the guards with their apprehenſions, and immediately broke open the doors, they found her quite dead †, lying on her golden bed, and dreſſed in all her royal ornaments. Iras, one of her women, lay dead at her feet, and Charmion, hardly able to ſupport herſelf, was adjuſting her miſtreſs's diadem. One of Caeſar's meſſengers ſaid angrily, "Charmion, was this well done?" "Perfectly well," ſaid ſhe, "and worthy a deſcendant "of the kings of Egypt." She had no ſooner ſaid this, than ſhe fell down dead.

It is related by ſome that an aſp was brought in amongſt the figs, and hid under the leaves; and that Cleopatra had ordered it ſo that ſhe might be bit without ſeeing it; that, however, upon removing the leaves, ſhe perceived it, and ſaid, "This is "what I wanted." Upon which ſhe immediately held out her arm to it. Others ſay that the aſp was kept in a water-veſſel, and that ſhe vexed and pricked it with a golden ſpindle till it ſeized her arm. Nothing of this, however, could be aſcertained; for it was reported likewiſe that ſhe carried about with her a certain poiſon in a hollow bodkin that ſhe wore in her hair; yet there was neither any mark of poiſon on her body, nor was there any ſerpent found in the monument, though the track of a reptile was ſaid to have been diſcovered on the ſea-ſands oppoſite to the windows of Cleopatra's apartment. Others, again, have affirmed, that ſhe had two ſmall punctures on her arm, apparently occaſioned by the ſting of the aſp; and it is clear that Caeſar gave credit to this;

* This is another inſtance of his perſonal cowardice.

† Dion ſays that Caeſar ordered her to be ſucked by the *Pſylli*, that the poiſon might be drawn out; but it was too late.

this; for her effigy, which he carried in triumph, had an aſp on the arm *.

Such are the accounts we have of the death of Cleopatra; and though Caeſar was much diſappointed by it, he admired her fortitude, and ordered her to be buried in the tomb of Antony, with all the magnificence due to her quality. Her women, too, were, by his orders, interred with great funeral pomp. Cleopatra died at the age of thirty-nine, after having reigned twenty-two years, the fourteen laſt in conjunction with Antony. Antony was fifty-three, ſome ſay fifty-ſix, when he died. His ſtatues were all demoliſhed, but Cleopatra's remained untouched; for Archibius, a friend of her's, gave Caeſar a thouſand talents for their redemption.

Antony left by his three wives ſeven children †, whereof Antyllus, the eldeſt, only was put to death. Octavia took the reſt, and educated them with her own. Cleopatra, his daughter by Cleopatra, was married to Juba, one of the politeſt princes of his time; and Octavia made Antony, his ſon by Fulvia, ſo conſiderable with Caeſar, that, after Agrippa and the ſons of Livia, he was generally allowed to hold the firſt place in his favour. Octavia, by her firſt huſband Marcellus, had two daughters, and a ſon named Marcellus. One of theſe daughters ſhe married to Agrippa; and the ſon married a daughter of Caeſar's. But as he died ſoon after, and Octavia obſerved that her brother was at a loſs whom he ſhould adopt in his place, ſhe prevailed on him to give his daughter Julia to Agrippa, though her own daughter muſt neceſſarily be divorced to make way for her. Caeſar and Agrippa having agreed on this point,

* This may be a matter of doubt. There would, of courſe, be an aſp on the diadem of the effigy, becauſe it was peculiar to the kings of Egypt; and this might give riſe to the report of an aſp being on the arm.

† By *Fulvia*, he had Antyllus and Antony; by *Cleopatra*, he had Cleopatra, Ptolemy, and Alexander; and by *Octavia*, Antonia, *major* and *minor*.

point, ſhe took back her daughter and married her to Antony. Of the two daughters that Octavia had by Antony, one was married to Domitius Ænobarbus, and the other, Antonia, ſo much celebrated for her beauty and virtue, married Druſus, the ſon of Livia, and ſon-in-law to Caeſar. Of this line came Germanicus and Claudius. Claudius was afterwards emperor; and ſo likewiſe was Caius the ſon of Germanicus, who, after a ſhort but infamous reign, was put to death together with his wife and daughter. Agrippina, who had Lucius Domitius by Ænobarbus, was afterwards married to Claudius Caeſar. He adopted Domitius, whom he named Nero Germanicus. This Nero, who was emperor in our times, put his own mother to death, and, by the madneſs of his conduct, went near to ruin the Roman empire. He was the fifth in deſcent from Antony.

DEME-

DEMETRIUS and ANTONY

COMPARED.

AS Demetrius and Antony both paſſed through a variety of fortune, we ſhall conſider, in the firſt place, their reſpective power and celebrity. Theſe were hereditary to Demetrius; for Antigonus, the moſt powerful of Alexander's ſucceſſors, had reduced all Aſia during his ſon's minority. On the other hand, the father of Antony was, indeed, a man of character, but not of military character; yet though he had no public influence or reputation to bequeath to his ſon, that ſon did not heſitate to aſpire to the empire of Caeſar; and, without any title either from conſanguinity or alliance, he effectually inveſted himſelf with all that he had acquired: At leaſt, by his own peculiar weight, after he had divided the world into two parts, he took the better for himſelf. By his lieutenants he conquered the Parthians, and drove back the barbarous nations about Caucaſus, as far as the Caſpian ſea. Even the leſs reputable parts of his conduct are ſo many teſtimonies of his greatneſs. The father of Demetrius thought it an honour to marry him to Phila the daughter of Antipater, though there was a diſparity in their years; while Antony's connection with Cleopatra was conſidered as a degrading circumſtance; though Cleopatra, in wealth and magnificence, was ſuperior to all the princes of her time, Arſaces excepted. Thus he had raiſed himſelf to ſuch a pitch of grandeur, that the world in general thought him entitled even to more than he wiſhed.

In Demetrius's acquiſition of empire, there was nothing reprehenſible. He extended it only to nations inured to ſlavery, and deſirous of being governed. But the arbitrary power of Antony grew on the execrable policy of a tyrant, who once more reduced to ſlavery a people that had ſhaken off the yoke. Conſequently the greateſt of his actions, his conqueſt of Brutus and Caſſius, is darkened with the inglorious motive of wreſting its liberty from Rome. Demetrius, during his better fortunes, conſulted the liberties of Greece, and removed the garriſons from the cities: while Antony made it his boaſt that he had deſtroyed the aſſertors of his country's freedom in Macedonia.

Antony is praiſed for his liberality and munificence; in which, however, Demetrius is ſo far his ſuperior, that he gave more to his enemies than the former did to his friends. Antony was honoured for allowing a magnificent funeral to Brutus; but Demetrius buried every enemy he had ſlain, and ſent back his priſoners to Ptolemy, not only with their own property, but with preſents.

Both were inſolent in proſperity, and fell with too much eaſe into luxury and indulgence. But we never find Demetrius neglecting his affairs for his pleaſures. In his hours of leiſure, indeed, he had his Lamia, whoſe office it was, like the fairy in fable, to lull him to ſleep, or amuſe him in his play. When he went to war his ſpear was not bound about with ivy; his helmet did not ſmell of perfume; he did not come in the foppery of dreſs out of the chambers of the women. The riots of Bacchus and his train were huſhed; and he became, as Euripides ſays, *the miniſter of Mars*. In ſhort, he never loſt a battle through the indulgence of luxury. This could not be ſaid of Antony. As in the pictures of Hercules we ſee Omphale ſtealing his club and his lion's ſkin, ſo Cleopatra frequently diſarmed Antony, and, while he ſhould have been proſecuting the moſt neceſſary

expeditions, led him to dancing and dalliance on the ſhores of Canopus and Taphoſiris *. So, likewiſe, as Paris came from battle to the boſom of Helen, and even from the loſs of victory to her bed, Antony threw victory itſelf out of his hands to follow Cleopatra.

Demetrius, being under no prohibition of the laws, but following the examples of Philip and Alexander, Lyſimachus and Ptolemy, married ſeveral wives, and treated them all with the greateſt honour. Antony, though it was a thing unheard of amongſt the Romans, had two wives at the ſame time. Beſides, he baniſhed her who was properly his wife, and a citizen, from his houſe, to indulge a foreigner with whom he could have no legal connection. From their marriages, of courſe, one of them found no inconvenience; the other ſuffered the greateſt evils.

In reſpect of their amours, Antony was comparatively pardonable and modeſt. Hiſtorians tell us, that the Athenians turned the dogs out of the citadel, becauſe they had their procreative intercourſe in public. But Demetrius had his courtezans, and diſhonoured the matrons of Athens even in the temple of Minerva. Nay, though cruelty ſeems to be inconſiſtent with ſenſual gratifications, he ſcrupled not to drive the moſt beautiful and virtuous youth in the city to the extremity of death, to avoid his brutal deſigns. In ſhort, Antony, by his amorous indulgences hurt only himſelf; Demetrius injured others.

With regard to their behaviour to their parents and relations, that of Demetrius is irreproachable; but Antony ſacrificed his uncle to the ſword of Caeſar, that he might be empowered in his turn to cut off Cicero.——A crime the latter was, which could never be made pardonable, had Antony even ſaved and

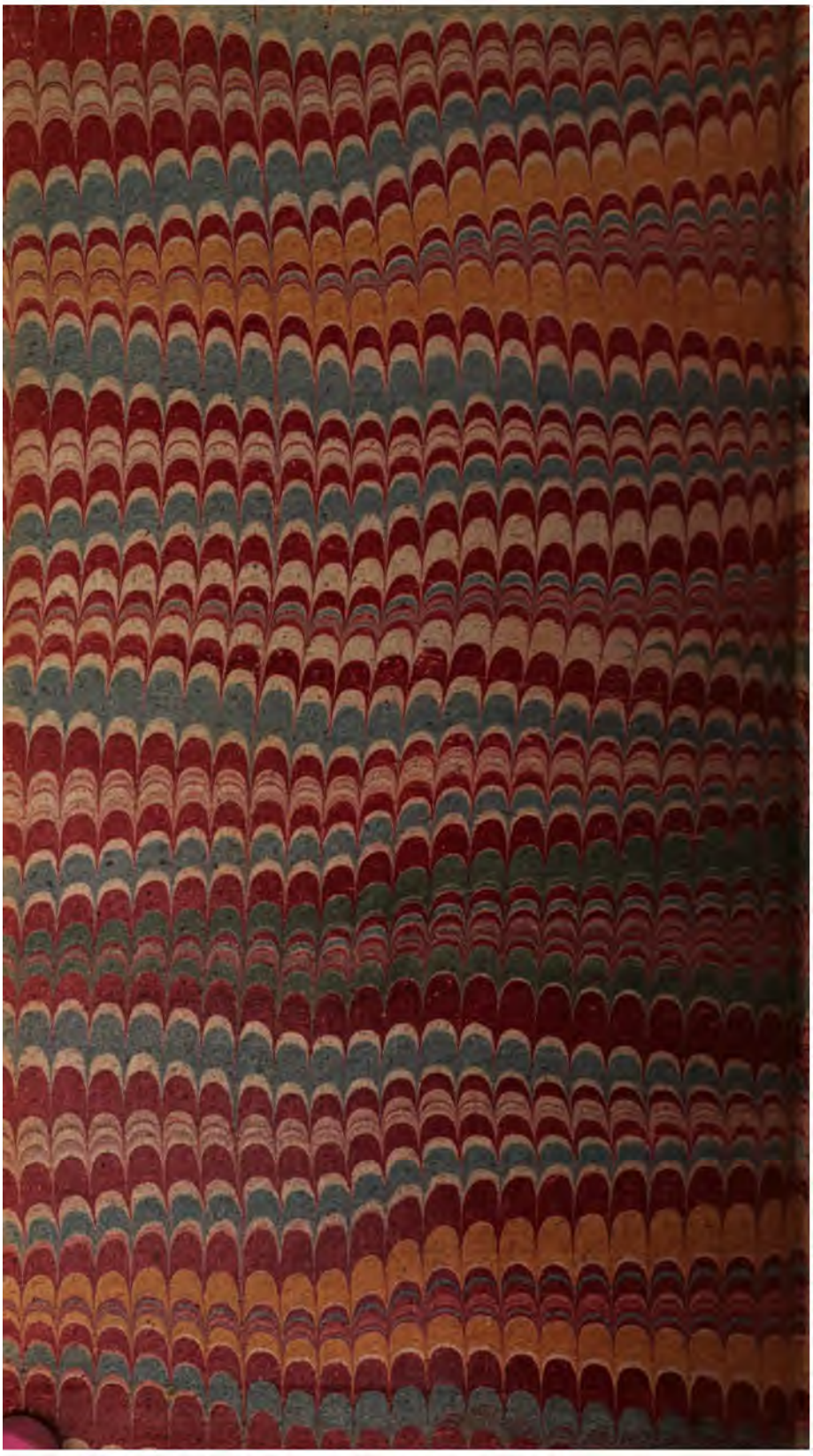
* Strabo mentions this as a romantic place near the ſea, full of rocks, where the young people went to amuſe themſelves. L. xvii.

and not ſacrificed an uncle by the means! They are both accuſed of perfidy, in that one of them threw Artabazus into priſon; and the other killed Alexander. Antony, however, has ſome apology in this caſe; for he had been abandoned and betrayed by Artabazus in Media. But Demetrius was ſuſpected of laying a falſe accuſation againſt Alexander, and of puniſhing, not the offender, but the injured.

There is this difference, too, in their military operations, that Demetrius gained every victory himſelf, and many of Antony's laurels were won by his lieutenants.

Both loſt their empire by their own fault, but by different means. The former was abandoned by his people; the latter deſerted his, even whilſt they were fighting for him. The fault of Demetrius was, that, by his conduct, he loſt the affection of his army: the fault of Antony, his deſertion and neglect of that affection. Neither of them can be approved in their death; but Demetrius much leſs than Antony; for he ſuffered himſelf to fall into the hands of the enemy, and, with a ſpirit that was truly beſtial, endured an impriſonment of three years for nothing but the low indulgences of appetite. There was a deplorable weakneſs, and many diſgraceful circumſtances attending the death of Antony; but he effected it at laſt without falling into the enemy's hands.

END OF THE FIFTH VOLUME.

ERRATA.

Page 248. *in the note, for* 533 *read* 333.
265. *line* 18. *read* Callimedon ſurnamed Carabus
416. *in the note, for* In regere, *read* I regere